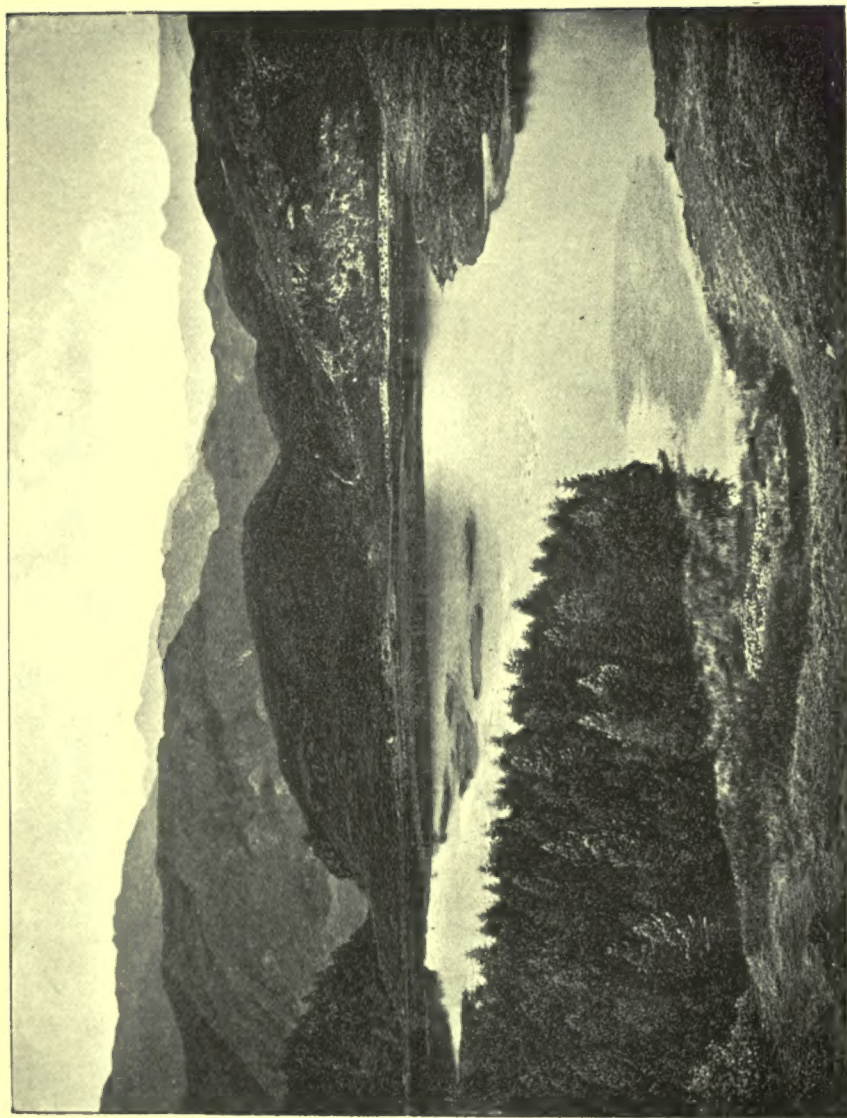




Joseph Thompson.
Wilmslow.



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From a Photograph by Mr. A. Pettitt.

HAWKSHEAD SCENERY. TARN HOWS.

HAWKSHEAD:

(THE NORTHERNMOST PARISH OF LANCASHIRE)

ITS

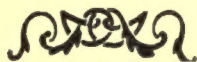
HISTORY, ARCHÆOLOGY, INDUSTRIES,
FOLKLORE, DIALECT,

Etc., Etc.

By

HENRY SWAINSON COWPER, F.S.A.,

Editor of "The Oldest Register Book of Hawkshead."



London:

BEMROSE & SONS, LIMITED, 23, OLD BAILEY;
AND DERBY.

1899.

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TO
THE MEMORY OF
JAMES SWAINSON COWPER-ESSEX,
OF
HAWKSHEAD, AND ACTON, MIDDLESEX,
THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED
BY HIS GRANDSON,
THE AUTHOR.

fc. 1. 1



TO THE READER.

COURTEOUS READER,

When you take up this volume you are asked to bear in mind that rural England is changing very fast; that ever since the first steam locomotive started on its smoky journey, the doom of old fashions, old industries, and old ideas was sealed. How radical these changes have been, and how relentless is the impulse which is effacing the old world colouring of rural life, only those who care to hold back the falling curtain can really tell.

These are the extenuating circumstances I dare to urge for writing a volume of 564 pages devoted to a single north country parish. For, though changes have come, and though signs are not wanting that greater changes are at hand, Hawkshead is still a relic of the older England. It is like an ancient painting which the brush of the tasteless restorer has just touched. A little time and he will paint out the mellowed tints. But, meanwhile, let us replace it in its frame and hang it reverently against the wall.

Making an afternoon call recently beyond the "great pool" of Windermere, my fair hostess courteously enquired as to the progress of the present work. Ere I could reply, a lady guest (a woman, in the words of Mr. Punch, essentially of the nineteenth century) struck in, "Hawkshead? What on earth can you find out to write

about Hawkshead, except that Wordsworth went to school there?" "Oh," I replied meekly, "there is really a lot. There are the old farms, and the dialect, and the superstitions. Then there's the way the people used to live — " "The way the people lived," quoth my fair critic, "why I thought they lived like pigs." Thereupon I collapsed; but now that time has somewhat effaced the memory of these indignities, I can only assure my readers that there is more to be learned about the parish than these two great facts, viz., that Wordsworth was schooled here, and that the people lived like pigs.

And as the thought of these affronts to my parish has put me into greater heart, I will venture yet more, and assert that this book, big though it be, is incomplete. For, in truth, the subjects of some of my chapters, were they handled by one of better parts than, and of equal opportunities with, myself, might be expanded into little volumes themselves—and interesting volumes to boot.

But to descend from fancies to facts. How can I essay to thank the band of friends and neighbours who, for over a dozen years, have helped me—ranging, as they do, from the Steward of the Manor, whose courtly copper-plate letter comes in answer to some worrying query, to the old fell shepherd, who greets me with "I'se gotten a lile bit for ye, Mr. Harry." Yet, at any rate, some few obligations I can acknowledge To the kindness of Mr. T. Wilson, of Aynam Lodge, Kendal, I owe the use of the beautiful plate of Hawkshead Hall, originally engraved for Beck's great work. Mr. Herbert Bell, of Ambleside, most kindly gave me for reproduction the three excellent photographs of Graythwaite Low Hall, being part of a large series

he has taken of local hall houses. I owe my thanks to the Councils of the Royal Archæological Institute, and the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Association, for the use of blocks made to illustrate papers of my own in their publications. My friend, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, put at my disposal the interesting plan of Peel Island ; while Mr. C. J. Ferguson, F.S.A., and Mr. Daniel Gibson furnished me with the plans of the Church, and Satterhow. Canon Bower has allowed me a transfer from a lithograph of his drawing of the Sandys monument ; and Mr. C. F. Archibald and Mr. Edward Benson contributed photographs of Rusland Hall and the Great Yew. Last, but not least, the Governors of the Grammar School granted me "free warren" in the muniment chest, and lent me the ancient Charter for reproduction.

But in particular must I say a word about the second map. In this I have essayed to show the face of the parish at the time when the old Northmen had finished their land taking. Of course, such a map must be but tentative, because, in fact, we know not at what date this same landtake came to an end ; and because it is certain that long after it did, the speech of the dalesfolk must have remained highly Norse, so that farms, intakes, and woods would continue to be named in what was essentially a Scandinavian tongue ; though, probably, one which had become corrupt to the extent of having lost its grammatical forms. Even in the last days of Monastic rule, we find the Dalesmen baptizing their farms "ground," like the old Icelandic "grund."

The map, therefore, must be considered as showing the parish at a date before the Abbey influence had been felt ;

say the beginning of the twelfth century. Yet, none-the-less, we have thought it best to give (as far as may be) the highly Norse names in their proper grammatical forms. Skelwith, for instance, may not have been so named until "vidhr" had become in Furness "vith" or "with." But this we cannot now hope to learn.

And, as a last word, let me thank the author of "Thorstein of the Mere" for the idea of this map—suggested as it was by the similar restorations in the romance. And yet more, for while in my map, as in Chapter VII., I am responsible for not a few guesses, yet I acknowledge with gratitude Mr. Collingwood's kind help and advice in the matter of grammatical forms, without which, indeed, this map would have been a wilder compilation than it now is.*

H. S. COWPER.

Hawkshead, June, 1899.

* It has not been possible to place two ancient names, both with a very Norse sound, on this map. Lakeleyternemire or Lawleaternemire, lay somewhere between Crake and Colton, and was granted (1257) to the Abbot by William de Skelmersherk.

Ravenstie, the old boundary between Hawkshead and Colton, is now quite lost.

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- I. The original Parish of Hawkshead, with its post-Reformation Sub-divisions.
- II. The Norse Settlements in Hawkshead Parish - - *At end of Volume.*

CORRECTIONS.

- Page 58, line 17. *For "Dickon" read "Dickson."*
- Page 41, line 4. The statement that Low Wray stood on the site of the present lodge and church is an error. The latter are on modern sites, and Low Wray farm lies rather to the North, on the East side of the road.
- Page 78, line 25. *For "Haukrsetr" and "Haukrsidha" read "Haukssetr" and "Hauksidha."*
- Page 83, line 18. *For "Haukrsetr" read "Haukssetr."*
- Page 224, line 8, and 226, line 6. *For "Abbot Banks" read "Abbot Banke."*
- Page 259, Footnote. *For "Rev. J. Ellwood" read "Rev. T. Ellwood."*
- Page 270, Footnote. *For "Houseman" read "Housman."*
- Page 272, line 6. *For "Mr. J. Taylor" read "Mr. T. Taylor."*
- Page 286, line 32. *For "Rev. J. Robinson" read "Rev. T. Robinson."*
- Page 397, line 1. The surname of the subject of this biography is more generally spelled Rigg, though Rigge was sometimes used.
- Page 404, line 22. *For "Forster" read "Foster."*

ADDITIONS.

- Pages 17 and 49. The Monk Coniston and Grisedale Hall Estates were in the last century both in the possession of William Ford, of Monk Coniston. He had two daughters, (1) Catherine, who inherited Monk Coniston, and married George Knott; and (2) Agnes, who inherited Ford Lodge, Grisedale, and married Henry Ainslie, M.D., of Kendal and London. The Monk Coniston property was increased by the Knotts and sold to the Marshalls; and Ford Lodge was abandoned as a residence by Montague Ainslie, son of Dr. Ainslie, when the new hall was built.
- Page 44. It should have been stated that the modern house of Brierswood was built by, and is the property of, J. R. Bridson, Esq.
- Page 174. Two measures, in all respects identical, were recently purchased by the author at Cheltenham. They were said to have come from the North.

CHAPTER I.

SURVEY OF THE PARISH.

YOU, gentle reader, who now perhaps take up this volume, be it either for amusement, for study, or for information, have before you, if through courtesy or interest in our subject you shall follow us to the end, a journey among the by-paths of antiquity, history, and half-forgotten country lore. Yet, although it will be our endeavour to make our excursions as fruitful of interest as we can, we shall in this our first chapter grant you a sort of holiday, in some sort a day or two of light work, before we must settle down in company to the task before us.

In these first pages, then, we shall hope to be your guide to Hawkshead as it is: to show you, in fact, the tract of fair country whose past is to be treated of in later chapters. We shall take you by the hand and bid you turn your gaze at the shining meres with their fair settings of hill and crag. You must toil with us up rocky roads, and force your way by our side through rustling coppice. In our company, you must clamber the rocky beds of rivulet and gill, and we must wander together o'er fell and dale, among the smiling hamlets, and through the quaint old-world town which gives its name to our ancient parish.

Were it, then, that an interesting subject forms an interesting chapter, our success in this initial venture is assured; but—like a lame horse—an ill-chosen companion, or, still worse, an inefficient guide, serves but too often to take away all the charm of a most pleasing excursion. We can, therefore, but

say, "Reader, we know our theme and love it well. Bear but a little with us where we fail, encourage us if we please, and our best endeavour shall be to make our survey both instructive and enjoyable."

Right at the northernmost point of Lancashire, blocked in on north-west and north by the barrier of fell which forms the well-known hills of the Lakes, lies the ancient water-girt Parish of Hawkshead. In Lancashire, yet cut apart, with the sister district of Cartmel, from the rest of the county by the great estuary of Morecambe: in the Lake district, yet not of it; for, though we doubt not our confession will bring upon us the disapproval of some at least of our readers, we acknowledge that to us, the greatest charms of our district are, that it boasts not a tourist centre, that it practically knows not steam traffic, and that the few and scattered industries it maintains neither pollute the sweet air of its hills nor distort the fair landscape we love.

The parish of Hawkshead, not the curtailed and dismembered parish of to-day, but the old parish as it existed in its entirety—the Chapelry of Hawkshead, as it was called in the days of Furness Abbey—measures in extreme length thirteen and a half miles from Elterwater Nab on the north to Legbarrow point on the south, where are joined the Crake and Leven rivers, the outlets respectively of Coniston Water and Windermere. The greatest width is from the Crake at Nibthwaite to a point on Windermere nearly due east, where it is nearly five and a half miles, and the total acreage is computed at nearly 36,700 acres. *

Let us take up the one-inch Ordnance map of Lancashire North of the Sands, and see how the Chapelry lies. On the east, that curving margin of Windermere forms in its entire length, our boundary; while on the west, the Chapelry ends on the wooded shores of Coniston. Yet no part of Windermere, as we shall afterwards see, belongs to

* According to the Ordnance Survey the old parish of Hawkshead is 14,322 a. o r. 36 p., and the old parish of Colton 22,330 a. o r. 35 p.

Hawkshead, or even to Lancashire, while the boundary line dividing this part of the Abbey possessions from those of the Barony of Kendal was at an early date drawn along the east margin of Coniston or Thurston Water, so that the ancient Chapelry of Hawkshead does not now, and never did, own, any part of the two beautiful lakes which close her in on east and west.

On the north, the busy stream of the Brathay, gathering its waters from the high fells around the Wrynose Pass, forms not only the boundary of the parish from Pierce How to Windermere, but also that between Lancashire and her neighbour Westmorland. While on the north-west, the small tributary stream of Pierce How Beck, running through the picturesque slate quarry country, and the Yewdale Beck, which empties itself into Coniston, make the frontier between the parish of Hawkshead and the Chapelry of Church Coniston or Coniston Fleming, and the rocky manor of Tilberthwaite. On the south-west, from the foot of Coniston, the river Crake divides us from Blawith, Lowick, Egton, all chapelries of the ancient parish of Ulverston. Of this fair river of Crake, we shall have more to say, but here where it runs out, it meets, between Greenodd and Legbarrow Point, its sister the Leven, which, taking a south-west course from the foot of Windermere, forms the boundary between our ancient parish and that of Cartmel, which, with its neighbour Furness, constitutes Lancashire North of the Sands. So that, as we have said, our district is water girt, for it is closed in by three lakes, Windermere, Thurston Water, and Elterwater; three rivers, the Brathay, the Crake, and the Leven; and two streams, Yewdale and Pierce How Becks.

Within these limits we find a country of a singularly broken-up and varied character; for although the hills nowhere rise above a thousand feet, there is hardly a really level mile of road to be found.* On the north, the Borwick Fell

* The modern road from Greenodd to Hollow Oak is no doubt far the levellest in the parish: but south of Brantwood a piece of road follows the margin for a short distance sufficiently close to make it moderately hill-less.

range, the fells about Tilberthwaite, and Claife heights stand out boldly, separated from each other and from the mightier hills of Westmorland by broad and cultivated valleys. But if we draw south by Dale Park, Grisedale, or Graythwaite, the valleys contract and become, so to speak, a series of gorges, through each of which rushes a beck, making its way to the Crake or the Leven. Both in the north and south parts, the higher fells are heather clad; but while larch plantations are fairly common in the Coniston and Hawkshead districts, in Colton, especially in the eastern part, and also in the Graythwaite and Grisedale districts, the county is still thickly covered with copse.

The pre-Reformation Chapelry of Hawkshead became a parish in 1578, and in 1676 the lower half of it was cut off, and made into the independent parish of Colton. It was probably subsequent to this that each parish was divided into four quarters or townships, which were the recognised divisions until the Local Government Act, when these ancient boundaries were, in many cases, violated in the formation of the new civil parishes, for Parish Council purposes. Monk Coniston, for instance, was attached to Church Coniston, with which it had never before been associated; the latter having been from early times a Chapelry of Ulverston, and part of a lay Manor, and never in any way connected with the Abbey estates. Obviously, then, we must in this chapter adhere to the older quarters or townships, which will be described in sequence.

The quarters or townships of Hawkshead are:—

1. Hawkshead, which included Hawkshead Field and Fieldhead.
2. Monk Coniston and Skelwith.
3. Claife, including Colthouse and the Sawreys.
4. Satterthwaite, including Dale Park, Grisedale, and Graythwaite.

And those of Colton:—

1. Colton East, or East side of Colton Beck.
2. Colton West, or West side of Colton Beck.

3. Haverthwaite, Finsthwaite, and Rusland.

4. Nibthwaite, including parts of Bethcar Moor.

In describing the parish, however, we shall deviate slightly from the above order, for the purpose of taking them in geographical sequence. We shall take each quarter, beginning from the north-west. The order will thus become:—

(1) Monk Coniston with Skelwith; (2) Hawkshead; (3) Claife; (4) Satterthwaite; (5) Nibthwaite; (6) Colton West and Colton East; (7) Haverthwaite, Finsthwaite, and Rusland.

MONK CONISTON WITH SKELWITH.

Beautiful and interesting as are most of the other townships and hamlets of the old chapelry, there is no question that in this quarter we get the most romantic and pleasing scenery. Hence only do we obtain real glimpses of true Lake district scenery. Here on the heath-clad fellsides indeed, we seem to stand on the threshold of the grandest of all English scenery; and although the black masses of Coniston Old Man and Wetherlam, the ragged peaks of Langdale, and the sunny slopes of Helvellyn and Wansfell are all across the border, still they seem framed as a picture for Coniston and Skelwith folk to gaze at: in truth, there are few places where finer views of this part of the lakes can be got than from the slopes about Tarn Hows, Arnside or Skelwith Fold.

In detailing the boundary of the chapelry itself we have already given that of the township on the west, north, and north-east. The inner boundary leaves the margin of Windermere on the south side of Pull Wyke and turning west, near Wray Castle, it crosses, by a fairly straight line, to Barngates Inn, called generally, but for what reason we hardly know, the "Drunken Duck." Thence by the summit of Borwick Ground Fell to Arnside, where it turns south, and passing by Tarn Hows it reaches High Cross, where the Hawkshead-Coniston road is joined by one from Ambleside, whence it ascends the fell and passes

along the watershed between Monk Coniston and Grisedale, until, after passing Lawson Park, a bend is made to the west, and it falls into Coniston at Beck Leven, a short distance south of Brantwood.

The township, therefore, forms a sort of elbow-shaped figure, or something like a joiner's square, and its area is greater than any of the other townships excepting that of Satterthwaite, with which it is probably about equal.*

Monk Coniston and Skelwith has three sub-divisions, two of which are given in the name of the quarter; while the third, which boasts a modern church, is Brathay. Such sub-divisions would elsewhere be called hamlets—the proper name of the sub-divisions of a township, as we know by a statute of 1286. But in North Lancashire the term is but little used, and though we find in the pre-Reformation documents many references to “granges” (farms of the abbey), villages, hamlets, and bailiwicks, the various terms seem hardly to have had any very definite signification; and any arbitrary sub-division of the quarters (which themselves would appear in our chapelry to be of comparatively modern date) was probably never attempted, until regular surveys were undertaken in modern times. In the ensuing pages, therefore, we shall use “hamlet” simply to denote the numerous clusters of farms and cottages which form a conspicuous feature in the district.

Approaching the parish from Ambleside, after passing Clappersgate we cross the Brathay by a picturesque bridge and enter the township at the north-east end of the elbow. This corner is called, from the river, Brathay, and is in itself somewhat featureless. Brathay Hall,† the property

* The boundaries are taken chiefly from the Ordnance map, and as in many places they do not ever appear to have been defined, it is not easy to get at the true areas. It is doubtful if, when these townships were arranged, any attempt at actually defining boundaries was made; probably they marched with the allotments of estates. If such a farm was placed in Monk Coniston, all its land—even its fell, “park,” or intake—was considered in Monk Coniston. When the commons were enclosed, the lines would become somewhat more definite.

† Brathay Hall was built about the beginning of the present century by a Mr. Law, who lived in Old Brathay, or Brathay as it then was, the pleasant house at the foot of Brathay Bridge.

of Dr. Hugh Redmayne, has a fine, bold situation on the lake; but of late years so many modern villas have sprung up about the northern end of Windermere, even on its Hawkshead side, that the ancient character of the country is somewhat lost. This is especially noticeable about Brathay. Here stands a modern church built in the Italian style, forming, it is to be regretted, a very marked feature in the landscape, for, unfortunately, it is one totally out of character. "Pull Barn," which occurs often in the parish register, has disappeared, lost perhaps in the out-buildings of the modern house called Wykefield, which boldly overlooks the road near Pull Wyke, and which is now leased by, and was until recently inhabited by, Sir William Forwood. Opposite Wykefield, beyond the bay, in lovely woods, lies another and more considerable modern residence called Pull Woods, only recently erected by W. J. Crossley, Esquire. This is a fine building of the half-timber style so markedly developed in South Lancashire and Cheshire—a style exceedingly picturesque—but one which naturally never obtained a hold in the Lake district, where timber was not too common, and magnificent building stone abundant.*

Formerly, we are told in Clarke's "Survey of the Lakes," there stood at Pull a little inn, the sign of which having become defaced, some waggish bard had inscribed beneath—

"What this sign is, none can tell;
But here's good beer and ale to sell."

No inn exists here now, but we believe that the position of this was somewhere at the head of Pull Wyke, close to where the roads from Coniston and Hawkshead meet.

A little west from here lies the old estate of the family of Bensons, who were the leading family of 'statesmen in this township, and played some part in local history, both in Hawkshead Parish and in the neighbouring county of Westmorland, where they also owned estates. Skelwith Fold passed out of their hands at the early part of the

* To the subject of local domestic architecture we shall revert when describing Wray Castle, and of houses in the timber and plaster style when treating of Sawrey.

present century, and has lately been acquired by Mr. Stephen Marshall, from whose new residence, situated a little east of the old house, the most marvellous views are to be had. Old Skelwith Fold house still stands, a typical 'statesman's house of the better class, snug and sheltered, with a plain, unpretending rough-cast front and round chimneys. Inside it is cut up into cottages, but some plain old oak-panelling remains on the stairs and in one of the bedrooms. The initials and dates, ^{B.} I. B. 1745,



OLD SKEIWITH FOLD.

and I. E. B., 1805, are the last surviving memorials of the ancient local family.

All, or nearly all, Skelwith was in former days in the hands of small local proprietors—'statesmen, as they are termed here in the North. Indeed, as we shall see, the only quarters in which squirarchal families existed were those of Hawkshead, Satterthwaite, and in the lower part of the chapelry which became Colton. In Skelwith, as late as 1723, it would seem that there were nearly thirty landowners, for a deed of that date belonging to Mr.

Marshall, enumerates properties in the "ownership or possession" of the following individuals:—John Hodgson, John Walker, George Holm, William Brathwayte, William Walker, Joseph Cumpstone, John Dixon, William Cowherd, William Holm, John Robinson, Richard Atkinson, Margaret Atkinson, James Jackson, Mary Holm, William Mackereth, Anthony Hall, Jane Mackereth, William Mackereth, Daniell Birkett, William Benson, George Cumpstone, Robert Benson, Thomas Brathwayte, James Cookson, Dummer, John Benson, Edward Park, Launcelot Dobson, and Gawen Brathwayte.

Below Skelwith Fold, on the Westmorland side of the Brathay, nestles the snug little hamlet of Skelwith Bridge, with a pretty roadside inn. This bridge was washed away in 1890 by a tremendous spate, following one of those thunderstorms which, accompanied by a tropical downpour, occasionally visit the Lakes.

A little east of Skelwith Bridge, the Brathay forms a pretty force or waterfall, and above this, its course, after traversing a spongy level from Elterwater, contracts into a narrow rocky ravine. This ravine in flood times, was insufficient to carry off quickly the superfluous water, so that being dammed here, as it were, the level behind was liable to flooding, and consequent destruction of crops: on this account, at some date, the rocky bed has been quarried, blasted, and widened, with excellent results as regards the meadows above. At one place where a rocky "rig" projected into the stream a smaller channel has been cut behind it, thus forming a sort of small fortress-like crag artificially separated from the rest of the bank. The place is rather a trap for the antiquary, who, noticing the artificial ditch cut behind it, might easily formulate most interesting theories, attributing to it an origin far remote both in date and object from its true one.

Elterwater now lies before us, and the nab or point projecting across it from the south is at once the northernmost point of our parish and county. The tarn, or "water," is somewhat featureless, and looks far better from

some of the fell points above it than from its margin. Probably the prettiest picture is that seen from the neighbourhood of High Close on the Westmorland side, whence the view is closed by a grand panoramic view of the Coniston Fells.

Here, about Colwith and Elterwater, where the noble valleys of Great and Little Langdale open out to meet the Furness hills, we have features plenty to charm alike the artist, tourist, antiquary, and student of place names. If we clamber over the ling-clad fellsides that rise on the south of the Brathay, at every turn the splendid panorama of shadowed hill, green plain, and winding river changes and varies both in contour and colouring as we pass. Up the hill from Colwith drifts with the breeze the ceaseless song of the force, for the Brathay, in her long descent from Wrynose, has many a trip and stumble before she leaps joyously into the "great pool" of Windermere. We say "she," for rivers are, by the courtesy of poets, fair maidens; but Brathay, fair as she is, is no wild school lass, for "she goes on for ever." Many a tale is she telling now, in her rippling tones, could we but understand, of the steel-clad veterans of Rome, of the herds or Celtic oxen, of the great lumbering commissariat wagons, and of the groups of British camp followers, apeing, perhaps, the manners of their conquerors, but more than half savage, who toiled along her banks in the olden days, on the road from the Roman camp at Waterhead to the fort which lay in the pass at Hardknott.

Stories can she tell us, too, of later days, when the long-limbed "sons of the bay," brown from exposure, and with the brine of the northern waves still clinging to their curling hair and beards, first forced their way through the tangled scrub and forest of Yewdale, and with their crescent-bladed axes formed the clearings or thwaites for their homesteads, and so drave into the ground, as it were, such landmarks of nomenclature as we find in Tilberthwaite and Arnside.

Whoever Arni was, however, we must leave to another page, but while here we should climb to his old dwelling,

were it only for the view. There are now two Arnside—High and Low—veritable hill farms, planted high on the fell, and round them heather and rock and larch plantation—nothing else, except the few green fields laid under cultivation, no doubt a thousand years back, by Arni himself. At one of the farms lives Mr. Gillbanks, the owner, the representative of an old land-owning family at Wythburn, but who settled here after his own vale had been invaded to quench the thirst of Manchester. Mr. Gillbanks' home is a veritable museum, and to his courtesy we owe more than one pleasant visit to inspect his ancient oaken furniture, china, and other heirlooms.

Above us rise the heath-clad points and rocks of Blackfell, Borwick Ground Fell, and Ironkeld, different parts of the same rough range of hill, a haunt and breeding-ground of wild duck and black game. Ironkeld is, we think, Arni's keld, and here no doubt the old Norse farmer found a spring and named it. On one of these allotments is a quarry, one of the oldest, perhaps, in the parish, where tradition says in the old days the immensely thick roofing slate still remaining on our old farm buildings was originally obtained. From the highest points we have perhaps the most extensive views that can be got from a similar elevation in the district. Esthwaite, Windermere, Coniston, and the Langdales are all before us. Unfortunately, the young larch plantations near the summits are so thickly grown that we have to fight our way through them, with hats pulled over our faces and eyes closed against the sharp spikes of the branches.

We have now no time to visit the farms of Park—High Park and Low Park—the names of which tell us of monastic rule, for we must cross the road near haunted Oxenfell Cross, close to where Guards Beck, the eastern tributary of Yewdale Beck, takes its rise. In front of us is Holme Fell, with the farms of Holme Ground and Hodgeclose; and the enormous and unsightly masses of tipped rubbish show us that we have arrived at the headquarters of the only

industry left in the northern part of the ancient chapelry. The quarries are on both the Coniston and Hawkshead sides of the boundaries, although the splendid stone obtained here is generally called "Coniston green slate."

If we follow down the Pierce How Beck towards Stang End, where it enters the Brathay, we find a wood between the road and beck, bearing the curious name of "Sepúlchre" (with the accent on the "u," if you please). Close to the road, within the wood, we have traced the foundations of a ruined square building seemingly of some antiquity. This building, no doubt, is connected in some way with the strange name of the place; but what its origin has been we do not know. Possibly, but we think hardly probably, a Roman building stood here, and a tomb of the same date may have been found, and given the name. Stang End was, however, the home of more Bensons, ardent Quakers, and, as Quaker burial grounds are in these parts generally known as "sepulchres," the question arises if ever there was one here.* But there exists neither record nor tradition of anything of the sort. Just over the Brathay, at Birk How, there is a place called Chapel Mire, and the local story is that a chapel stood here, and its burial ground was at the "Sepulchre." But it seems unlikely, as the two places are some distance apart, divided by a river, and even in different counties. Tilberthwaite, its gill and waterfalls and its old copper workings, we must pass by, for it is over the beck in Church Coniston.

Holme Ground Fell ends in bold crags dominating Yewdale, and parting the streams called Yewdale Beck and Guards Beck. At its foot lie two farms: High Yewdale, which is in Church Coniston, a typical dalehead house, with large barns, and a row of quaintly clipped yews in a line with the front. Yew Tree Farm, close by, is on the Hawkshead side, and till a few years ago was often visited on account

* Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., who is well acquainted with the history of local Friends, assures me there was never a Friends' burial ground here: but meetings were held, and Quakers might, and perhaps did, bury wherever they liked.

of the wonderful old yew tree standing in a field behind it. This tree is shown in Crosthwaite's map of Coniston, published over a hundred years since, with a note saying that its diameter was then nine feet. When we measured it some years ago we found it about the same, although, of course, a knotted and gnarled trunk will show considerable variations in diameter according to the point where this is measured. It was, however, a mere shell, up the inside of which it was possible to climb, and it was evident that at



"HOW ARE THE MIGHTY FALLEN."

some period the top had been lost. In the great gale of 22nd December, 1894, he fell, and then it became evident that not only had his branches dwindled from great age, but his roots also, so that but little was left except his great gnarled trunk. Mr. Marshall, the owner, was approached with the view of getting the old landmark hoisted on end, for it was thought that if fixed with strong tackle he might stand, though dead, for years. The idea, however, was not carried out, and this unique relic of our old forest lies in the field slowly decaying.

Traditionally, and perhaps probably, Yewdale is named after the yew, or after him and dead companions. In his full vigour, when his great branches spread far and wide over the turf, and before his great gnarled trunk was much decayed, the Great Yew of Yewdale must have been a magnificent specimen. Yet we must not think of him as standing here when the Romans cleared their Langdale Road, or even in the days of the Norse occupation. His age is computed by one of our best authorities at about seven hundred years, so that he may have just been a stripling when the thirty sworn men marched up Yewdale delimiting the frontier of Furness Fells in the twelfth century.* Yet he is venerable enough to have seen a good deal. Perhaps under his shadow the hunted Quakers met; and many rustic lovers must have sat and sighed beneath his branches. Poor old yew of Yewdale, you are gone! What tales could you tell us could you speak! Tales of storm and strife, of love and death, of feudal slavery and peaceful shepherd life. Strange to say, the small farm adjoining called Penny House, from a family of Pennys which once resided there, took fire not long after the fall of the yew, and was burned to a shell. Close by stands Yew Tree Farm, where, in the barn adjoining, may be seen one of the few examples of that open timber and plaster work which is practically unknown in this part of Lancashire. Only a small portion of the wall is so constructed, and is of interest only as a curiosity. The farm itself is a good example of the sort, but evidently built at two periods, the back part being the older, of the usual plain type, with round chimney and rustic porch. This was probably built in the seventeenth century, for it contains a large oaken fixed cupboard of the

* Dr. J. Lowe, the author of "Yew Trees in Great Britain" (1897), to whom the present writer forwarded a good photograph of the fallen tree, sent in reply an interesting letter in which he estimates the probable age at about seven hundred years. He points out that when the tree lost its top a rapid increase of the trunk would follow through coalescence of adventitious stems, and that this welding is shown in the corrugated and fluted appearance of our yew. Decay sets in in the central roots of the yew tree generally after two hundred years, so that the hollowness of a large tree like this is not evidence of very vast antiquity if the tree, like this one, is living; and yew trees continue their growth alongside this decay.

usual sort, but higher and longer than most which now remain. It is initialled and dated G. W. 1685. C. H. The latter initials, with some of the carving, is probably a later addition, and we believe G. W. stands for George Walker, of Yew Tree, whose will was proved in 1695. The front part of the farm is an addition of the eighteenth century, and an old lock on the door appears to read, as well as we can make out through coats of paint, G^W A

^{1743.}
The charms of Yewdale, from here to the head of the



YEW TREE FARM.

lake, are not easy to describe; nor can we dwell at length upon them here. The beautiful stream which divides the valley, and so gives half Yewdale to Church Coniston and half to Monk Coniston, is made the scene of a romantic tale by Dr. Gibson, which, though professedly of local origin, is evidently in great part the writer's own.* High above it, on

* See A. C. Gibson's "The Old Man," 1849, p. 126-7. The tale of Lady Eva and the Giant Willie of the Tarns. It is now almost impossible to say whether the story is altogether invention, or whether Gibson found some slight tradition. "Great Willie" was probably suggested by the Willie waterfall on the beck running from Tarn Hows. The present author failed to identify the giant's grave as pointed out by A. C. Gibson.

the west tower are the massive crags of Yewdale Fells, broken and black, scored with milky gills, and tufted here and there with stunted trees. From overhead, in mid air, comes the raven's croak, as with extended sable wings he soars in widening circles. To him belongs to-day the sovereignty of these dark crags, for his noble kinsman, the eagle, who nested here, has gone, driven to wilder climes by the march of civilisation.

We must turn aside and climb by Tarn Gill, where, in the road, can be noticed masses of iron slag, the scoræ of an ancient smelting-hearth, till we reach Tarn Hows, beloved, and rightly so, by skaters in winter and picnic parties in summer. Here comes every day in the season at least one char-a-banc load of sightseers from Ambleside or Windermere, for Tarn Hows is a show-place—perhaps the most visited corner in all our chapelry, if we except a point or two on Windermere.

"The Tarns," for they are thus always spoken of in the plural, formerly consisted of three small sheets of water: but some years ago the proprietor, Mr. Marshall, raised the level, and converted them into one, adding thus most materially to the great charms with which nature had lavishly endowed the place.

Though we have travelled somewhat widely in Europe, Asia, and Africa, we can recall no place with so many varied beauties of colour and contour as this delightful spot, within ten minutes' walk of our own home. We know every inch of the ground, every changing view, every storm-cloud, and burst of sunlight. Yet we have never tired of it, and never shall. If we climb the hill side above the southern end on an autumn morning, what do we see? There is a winding sheet of water of no great length, whose shore line is marked with tiny promontories and bays. On each side the shores rise fairly steeply, here covered with autumn heather and golden bracken, there hidden in dark plantations of spruce and larch. A simple, charming scene, we hear the reader say, but what more? Well, there is plenty more, but how

to tell it? Somehow or another, this autumn morning, when all tourists are back at their homes, we can *imagine* here in a way we cannot anywhere else. Here we *might* be anywhere. In fact, if we were to knock down the one or two walls we see, we might be the only human denizens of God's earth—a very pleasing idea to one of our romantic and misanthropic turn of mind, though possibly a condition which we should not like if it were really the case.

This is one of the charms of Tarn Hows—its seeming distance from civilization. It is not a simple basin of water set in a desert of crag, like some of our lakeland tarns, very grand and wild, but somehow a form of scenery which seems to give some folks (not ourselves, dear reader) a cold chill up the spine, so that with buttoned coats they rush back to their inn to order tea. It is the marvellous variety of this scene which is so delightful, for beyond this foreground of lakelet and heather rises that panorama we have already seen from Arnside. But here with our foreground the colouring is a marvel. The lake is blue, the banks brown, red, and black, the bracken gold. Behind, through a gray mist rising from Yewdale, lies the purple mass of Wetherlam, damascened in silver, the jagged lines of unmelted snow left by the first October snowstorm, white locks, as it were, on her hoary brow.*

We now come down to the head of Coniston or Thurston Water, which is partly enclosed within the boundaries of this township. Here about the waterhead we are, as at Brathay, again in the nineteenth century, for villas and gentlemen's houses cluster thickly. First we have embosomed in beautiful woods Waterhead House, or Monk Coniston Hall as it is sometimes called, bought in the last century by the family of Knott, and afterwards purchased by James Garth Marshall, Esq., M.P. for Leeds, from whom it has descended to its present owner. The house is a sort of modern Gothic in style, but it is said that some of the old rooms behind

* The reader will find this place called in numerous guide-books Tarn haws or Tarnhause, instead of Tarn Hows or The Tarns. The latter are correct, but we must leave the discussion on this subject to a later chapter.

formed part of a house occupied in the days of the Abbey by a monk in residence. A local tradition however, narrated by Mr. A. Craig Gibson, makes Bank Ground on the east margin of the lake the home of a certain monk, "Father Brian," but we have no further confirmation of this.

At the foot of the park, behind where the letter-box now stands, and right at the Waterhead, stood the old inn, now destroyed, having been replaced in 1849 by the roomy modern establishment nearer the mouth of Yewdale beck. This older inn was not, we believe, very ancient, as it was called New Inn to distinguish it from a house in the village. We do not know that any representations of it exist, for certain old engravings of buildings at Waterhead manifestly represent the old farm of Boon Crag nearer to the present Monk Coniston House. The inn probably only dated from the end of last century, when the earliest tourists began to haunt the district.

The other houses about the lake head need not detain us long here. The Thwaite, an unpretending but not unpicturesque residence, occupies a commanding position behind the Waterhead Hotel, and was built about 1821. Tent Lodge, built by the father of the young linguist, Elizabeth Smith, has but little to commend itself in architecture, for it is built in a sort of Italian style. Tent Cottage, on the road beside it, was originally called Townson Ground, and was Elizabeth Smith's home. Close by is Lane Head, built in 1848, at which time a curious little one-storied public-house was destroyed. This was commonly called "Thopenny yall 'us"—the half-penny ale-house—from its exceptionally cheap tariff for refreshments. A little further south is Coniston Bank, and then comes Brantwood, built about one hundred years ago, and tenanted by not a few talented occupiers, before it was purchased in 1871 by its present distinguished owner, Professor John Ruskin.*

* The Author is indebted to the pleasant and instructive "*Guide to Coniston*" by his friend, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, for not a little information concerning the history of this corner of the parish; and to this little work he would refer his reader for many details.

Leave we the valley and its houses, and pass to the fellside above. The Old Man faces us, the grim sentry of the Lakeland hills to the south. Below nestles Church Coniston and its village, and among the trees stand out the great round chimneys of Coniston Hall, the old home of the knights and squires Fleming and le-Fleming, from whom their manor was sometimes called Coniston Fleming. Here we are at the end of the township, for the boundary dividing it from Hawkshead and Satterthwaite sweeps along the crest of this brown moor on which we stand. Lawson Park is our southernmost house, a solitude of solitudes, once a grange of the rich Abbey of Furness, now an isolated fellside sheep farm. *

HAWKSHEAD AND FIELDHEAD.

This quarter, or township, is the central one of the parish as it existed subsequent to the separation of Colton. It was, properly speaking, all one quarter, although it embraced two sub-divisions. One was Hawkshead Field, which took its name from the old common field of the early inhabitants, which extended from the town to Esthwaite Lodge, † on the western bank of Esthwaite; the other was called Fieldhead, and occupied the northern half of the quarter, from the Hawkshead Hall estate up to the boundary of Skelwith.

The northern and western sides of the whole township have been described in the boundaries of Skelwith and Monk Coniston. The southern line leaves the top of Monk Coniston Moor, and, crossing the head of the Grisedale valley, takes a south-easterly course over the fell, passing a little north of Grisedale tarn, and, traversing the northern part of Dalepark, falls into Cunsey beck, near Eel House, from which point to Windermere the beck divides Claife from Satterthwaite.

* Lawson Park is included in Monk Coniston and Skelwith on the Ordnance Survey, but it may be doubted if this is correct, because the farm was given as an endowment to the chapelry of Satterthwaite about 1677 (see Appendix under Charities). It remained a glebe until 1897, when it was purchased by Mr. A. Severn, of Brantwood. The old spelling and modern vernacular pronunciation is Lowson Park.

† In former times called New House in Hawkshead Field.

The eastern boundary, which divides Hawkshead quarter from Claife, leaves Cunsey beck at Eel House, and ascends by Out Dubs to Esthwaite Water. From the head of the lake it follows for a short distance the Hall beck, and then diverging passes east of Hawkshead Hall and Belmont, and, leaving Outgate on the left, joins the beck which runs into Blelham Tarn. From the north-east end of Blelham it skirts by Wray Castle, which is in Claife, and joins the Skelwith boundary a short distance from Windermere. All the parish east of this line formed the Claife quarter. The Hawkshead and Fieldhead quarter is of paramount interest, as containing the ancient town and church which gave the whole chapelry its name. Yet, although its scenery is beautiful in a simple sylvan way, it can claim nothing like the grandeur of the quarter we have already described; nor can it boast the splendid combinations of hill and lake scenery which may be found in all the other quarters, and in Colton as well. Yet its charms are great, and are peculiar to itself. It has its savour of antiquity and history—its ancient town, with its nooks and corners, its grey old church, and ivy-covered manor-house.

Geographically, the leading feature here, and, no doubt, that which led to the early colonization of the place, is a sort of gap in the fells—for it can hardly be accurately termed a plain—which must at an early date have attracted settlers by the facilities which it offered for cultivation, superior as it was to the rougher fells lying north, south, and east. This question of the early settlement of our chapelry will be hereafter fully discussed, but it may well be pointed out here how an industrious race of new-comers would naturally select the head of Esthwaite for a clearing. The slopes round Hawkshead would be, we think, once cleared, both dry and good for primitive cultivation, while the fells which rose around were well adapted for pasturage, and would afford excellent sport. Nowhere else within the limits of the chapelry were equal advantages to be found, for Rusland and Haverthwaite, although they possessed some of these features, were probably choked with bog and morass till a later date.

The northern half of the quarter is in aspect somewhat featureless. The ground descends in easy stages from Borwick Ground Fell and the hills about the tarns, and from Hawkshead Hall parks and the lower elevations behind Outgate, to Hawkshead Hall, half-way between which and Esthwaite Lake the Hall beck joins another flowing from near Outgate, and these together form the principal feeder of the lake.

This division of the quarter contains beside the ancient manor-house four scattered hamlets, several private residences, and various fell-side farms. The principal hamlet is Outgate, a snug little place of some eight or nine houses, situated on the direct road from Ambleside to Hawkshead. Some say that it is so named because, in proceeding from Hawkshead to Ambleside, the cultivated land was here left, and the commons of Claife reached; but this appears doubtful, as the high road does not enter Claife at all, but proceeds more or less parallel with it. More probably Outgate marks the place where enclosed fields joined the common in early times.

The other hamlets are Fieldhead, Borwick Ground, and Hawkshead Hill, the last of which is on the road from Coniston, and boasts an ancient Baptist Chapel built in 1678, and probably formed out of an ancient cottage. In 1876 this was restored, or rather refronted, in a style which, although without pretensions, does not accord particularly well with the old architecture of the district.

The principal modern residences are Belmont, built in 1774 by Mr. Reginald Braithwaite, a Vicar of Hawkshead. It occupies the site, we believe, of an old tenement called Rawes Ground, and has a very pleasing situation between Outgate and Hawkshead Hall, overlooking the Esthwaite valley. The house is a square block similar to Brathay, a style that had really survived from the Jacobean period. Though by no means beautiful, it is no eyesore in the landscape, for its tints are mellowed by time, and fine old trees have sprung up around it. Behind the house we find a leaden water-cistern stamped with the initials of the first proprietor, and the date of erection R.^{B.} F. 1774, and

also the crest of the Braithwaites of Ambleside, a greyhound couchant collared and stringed. Belmont was at a later date acquired by Dr. Whittaker, Vicar of Blackburn, who had here a considerable library, which was dispersed in 1887. It still belongs to his representatives.

Fieldhead House and Borwick Lodge are pretty but unpretentious residences. The old name of the last is Borwick Ground, from a 'statesman family who had lived there for many generations. On the summit of the hill above stands our own home, called in the seventeenth century High House. At a later date it was known as the Castle, but when the old building was pulled down in 1859 by J. Swainson Cowper-Essex, the author's grandfather, he named the new house Yewfield, whence has risen the present awkward name of Yewfield Castle. The house was considerably added to, in 1883, by its present owner. High House, the original farm, was owned till about 1697 by the Sawreys of Sawrey Ground, a family of 'statesmen, from whom it descended by a female heir to the Swainsons, in whose hands it remained until about 1805, when it passed in the same manner to our own family. On the road from Hawkshead Hill to Hawkshead Hall stands the modern house called Highfield, built also by J. S. Cowper-Essex, and now occupied by Mr. Wm. Hopes Heelis.

Hawkshead Hall, however, is by far the most interesting feature in this part of the township, for it is the ancient Manorial House of the Abbey, and its old Court House, with work of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, often forms a subject for the artist's sketch-book or the camera. In this chapter we shall not go into the question of its history or its architecture, for these both find their place elsewhere, but we will content ourselves with calling the reader's attention to the old Gatehouse, the traceried window of which lights the ancient Courtroom of the Manor. This room was used for services when the parish church was being restored. The small rough cast building is part of the old residence, but the large parlour or hall, which formerly





joined it to the Gatehouse, was pulled down by the author's grandfather, who built the new farm behind.* The old rookery standing by the ancient corn mill of the Manor suffered terribly in the great storm of 1894. On a tract of moorland belonging to this estate, which is still called Hawkshead Hall Parks, an ancient burial cairn exists, which was excavated by the present writer some years since, with not uninteresting results. Near this runs in a deep ravine a beck, and this was formerly dammed to feed a bobbin mill at Thursgill, below Hawkshead Hill. Years ago, however, the dam burst, flooding the gill below, and causing considerable destruction, and as the dam was never repaired the bobbin industry here came to an end. The mill still stands, however, a most picturesque building, placed at the head of a singularly deep and romantic ravine, bearing the curious name of Thursgill. This extraordinary spot is little known, for the drop is so abrupt, that from a short distance there is but little indication that a ravine exists at all. Thursgill occurs, in the parish register, as the scene of a drowning case, but the entry does not tell us the cause of the occurrence.

The interest of the lower half of the quarter—the districts of Hawkshead and Hawkshead Field Head—is confined chiefly to the low ground about the town, and the peaceful scenery bordering on the Esthwaite lake; for the remaining part consists either of breezy but featureless moor, or tangled coppice woods. Hawkshead, as we have said, is not a tourist centre, and is little known to visitors to the district, except on account of its connection with the poet Wordsworth. Yet, as we shall see, it played its part in the history of Lancashire North

* Guide-books are notoriously inaccurate, and we are not surprised at the queer statements many contain about Hawkshead Hall. Thus, it has often been called a chapel, which of course it is not. And but a few days ago we found it stated in a new edition of Black's Guide that Archbishop Sandys was born here. He was, however, born at Esthwaite Hall. The author of "Literary Associations of the English Lakes" makes the same mistake, and in another passage he accurately describes the position of Hawkshead Hall, but calls it Esthwaite Hall. A worse error, originated in the last century, is that of writing Coniston instead of Conishead Priory. This has been perpetuated by almost every writer since, including some of the most distinguished Cumberland antiquaries. It is needless to say here, that there never was a Priory at Coniston.

of the Sands, and at the present day has manifold points of interest for the antiquary, the historian, or the artist.

The Hawkshead and Grisedale moors, shelving off north-east towards the valley, end in two remarkable green round hills. Geologically these are moraine matter ; and are named respectively Keenground High, and Charity High, the latter name originating with the property having been purchased by the Trustees of the Grammar School with moneys left as a charitable bequest. Near the base of these hills, and sheltered by them from the south-westerly gales, lies our little market town, a compact cluster of rough cast houses, its old-world aspect broken only by a huge and unsightly modern police station, a modern post office, and a village institute, each of which edifices have, it is to be regretted, been built of late years, in a style the glaring incongruity of which, in this quaint old town, is painfully evident.

If we except these buildings we find ourselves, on entering Hawkshead, in a town the appearance of which has probably changed as little or less than any other in North Lancashire during the last two centuries. It is true that among the houses a few date from a later period, as does also the Town Hall, which was built at the end of last century, and has been subsequently enlarged. But, most wisely, these buildings have been rough-cast with lime in the old style, so that their appearance is well in accord with the older buildings, from which they are not indeed easy to distinguish. Yet, although there are but few poor in Hawkshead, the town has practically remained perfectly stationary in size, a state of things due entirely to the extinction of the wool market, owing to the introduction of machinery.

Hawkshead may be said to be composed of two streets, three squares, and numerous yards, alleys, or courts, term them which you will, which lead out of the squares and main thoroughfares. It has its fair share of inns, for they number five, and all of these are well managed and



From a Photo. by F. Frith & Co.]

HAWKSHEAD BEFORE 1875.

comfortable, if old-fashioned establishments. Some of these inns, as the Red Lion and the Brown Cow, have their yards behind—quaint old-world places, full of nooks and corners, and overlooked by low, long windows, which, though they light but ill the little parlours they open from, have, we doubt not, afforded the occupants the sight of many a busy group during the market and fair days in the times gone by. Sleepy though they be, these yards are yet full of life, the old cobble paving still remains, and children in clogs still clatter through them; and clog clatter, though perhaps unmusical to the Southern, is pleasant enough to the Northern ear, and at Hawkshead it savours, like all else, of the past.

Some of the old squares and streets and even the corners have names, some no doubt old, others given by the inhabitants in a sort of spirit of chaff. Entering the town from the north, we pass first on the left the hideous police station, and then reach the principal inn, the Red Lion, a very old building, although it has been refronted in comparatively recent times. Nearly opposite a narrow lane leads to the right, still cobble paved, and having a few shops. This is Anne Street, but why so named we do not know.* After this is one of the principal open spaces, not properly a square, and in this case nameless. From this we pass beneath an arch, or, speaking more accurately, through a passage over which has been built a room, into the Market Square, which is of considerable size, with the Town Hall upon its southern side. At the northern corner, at the end of the King's Arms Inn, is another small square, sometimes called Berkeley Square, from which we can pass by a narrow picturesque corner and under another building to the top of Anne Street, and so into Vicarage Lane, where is situated the picturesque cottage called Grandy Nook, once Wordsworth's lodgings, and now a place of pilgrimage to most visitors to Hawkshead.

* Probably a modern name, from Wordsworth's lodging-house dame, Ann Tyson, and coined by the townsfolk for the benefit of tourists.

Returning to Berkeley Square we may visit Flag Street, which till May, 1894, was perhaps the most picturesque corner in the town. Flag Street is an alley running down parallel with Vicarage Lane, and built most strangely on the line of a beck. Until the date above mentioned this beck was only covered with large flags, in some places entirely spanning it, but elsewhere carried only along one side, so that walking up the street the running water could be seen through the gaps in the flags. Where the street opened into the square the beck was left open, a sort of pool where the townspeople from time immemorial drew water for various household purposes.

Of course such an arrangement was not specially sanitary, but it was highly picturesque, and it was, indeed, one of the most attractive places in the town, so that in the summer photographers and artists were often busy at Flag Street. It had its purposes, too, for in heavy rains, when a great spate would come from the moor, the hole at the foot of the street was a safety-valve by which the flood-water could escape without fear of Flag Street being flooded. Yet, in spite of the charm and even utility of the place, the local Highway Board in 1892 took measures to have the hole closed as dangerous and unsanitary. At the time, however, so much local irritation was caused among the townspeople that the improvement was dropped. Two years later, however, the owners of the houses on either side closed in the hole and even covered in a great portion of the beck, so that Flag Street exists no longer.* It is needless to say that on more than one occasion our prophecy of the flooding of Flag Street has been verified,† and that one of the most charming corners of Hawkshead has lost its attractions.

* Flag Street is also supposed to be alluded to by Wordsworth in the "Prelude," but it is hardly a matter of certainty. At the time of the closing the writer was absent, or he would certainly have again protested against the proceeding. The water was, of course, polluted, but was never used for other than washing purposes, and no record exists of any accident in the hole, which was reported dangerous.

† On June 23, 1898—when the houses on each side were flooded about eighteen inches deep, the road made on the lid-flags washed clean away, and the square at the bottom washed to bits; and again in the November flood of 1898.

The next turning up from the Market Square leads to a pretty corner where water comes gushing out of a wall into a tank. This is the "town spout," the water-supply for the whole town in old days. It is unused now, but the place is a pretty subject for the pencil. On the south side of the Market Square is the Town Hall, built in 1790, on the site of an older Market House, and considerably enlarged in 1887, in commemoration of the first Jubilee.*

The characteristic features of the little town may be said to be the overhanging stories, which remain in many of the older houses, the passages under buildings, the numerous sharp turns and corners, and the rough-cast walls. Yet antique in appearance as it still is, the town has altered much in modern times. Formerly the vicarage beck, which passes under Flag Street, traversed the Market Square uncovered, but spanned here and there by foot-bridges. All the town was cobble paved, and a fine clatter there must have been on market day, when all wore clogs, or when the strings of pack-horses arrived. In those days several of the houses in the Market Square and elsewhere had pentices built along their fronts; partly, it would appear, for hanging "garn" (yarn) in, in the old wool days, and partly as shelters for folk on market days.

* It is worth while noticing that Wordsworth, at the beginning of Book II. of the "Prelude," describes the site of the Town Hall as partly occupied in his schooldays by a big rock, and utilized as a school playground. On revisiting the site—

"Gone was the old grey stone, and in its place
A smart Assembly-room usurped the ground
That had been ours."

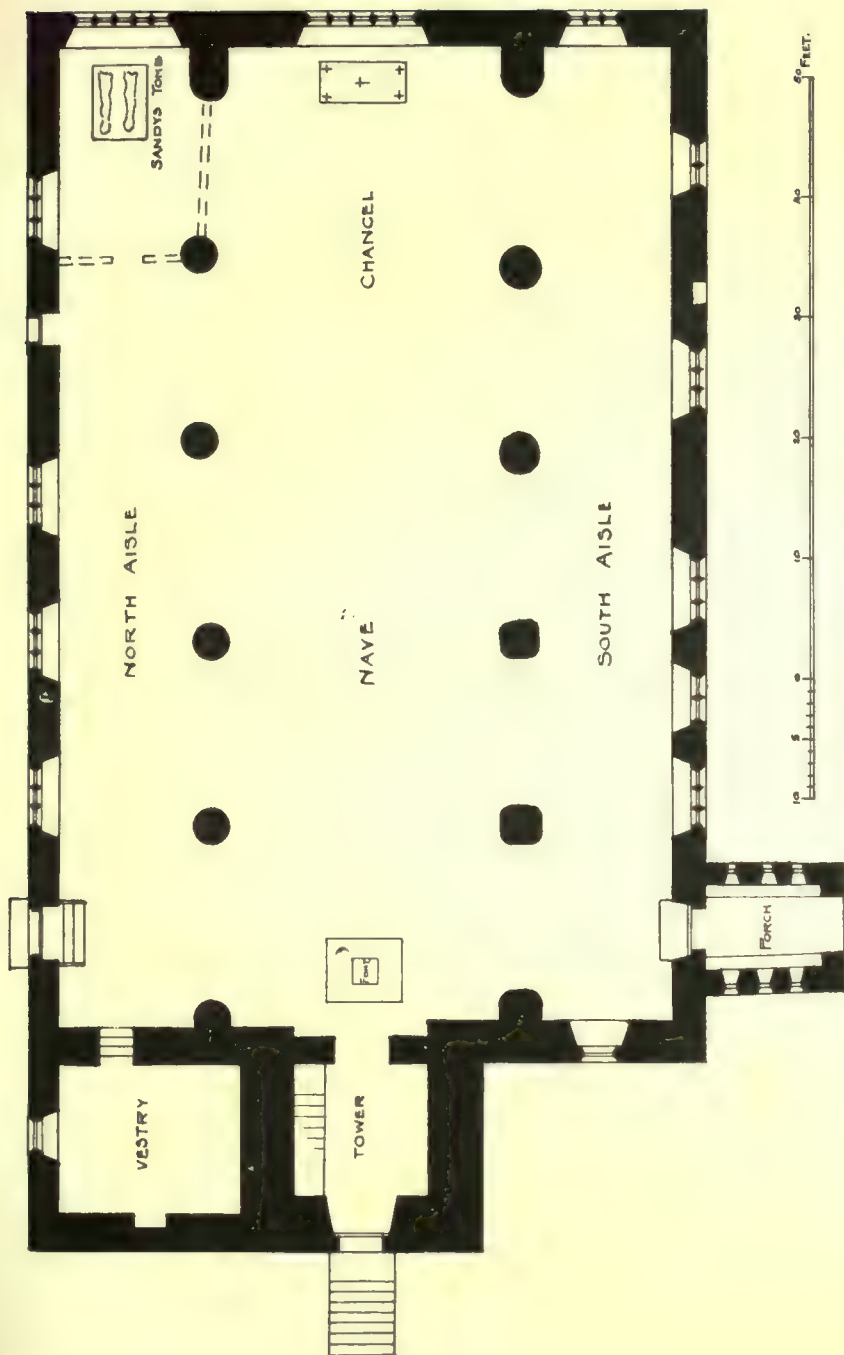
He had apparently forgotten that in his schooldays an older Market House occupied at least some part of the site. The contract for building the Hall was dated 14th December, 1789, and was signed by thirteen trustees, who had been appointed on the 4th December previous, to represent the four quarters. In it the building is described as "Market House and Shambles." The present trustees also possess a presentment, dated December 1st the same year, addressed to the jury of the Court Baron, showing that the market shambles and butcher house (47 feet by 18 feet) had been long ruinous and decayed, and should be pulled down, enlarged, and rebuilt. The cost of the new building was defrayed by subscription, the principal being two donations of £20, given respectively by the Lords of the Manor and Mr. Wm. Matthews, of London. The following were the first trustees:—The Rev. Reginald Braithwaite; Thos. Middlefell, Hawkshead Fieldhead; John Borwick, Borwick Ground; Thomas Rigge, High Keenground; George Law, Brathay Hall; David Kirkby, The Thwaite; John Jackson, Bank Ground; Anthony Wilson, High Wray; William Taylor, Manchester; Matthew Hodgson, Hawkshead; Myles Sandys, Graythwaite; William Rawlinson, Graythwaite Low Hall; John Russell, Force Forge.

A few of the houses had the lower story deeply recessed and the upper one supported on a rude column. One of these still stands on the Church Hill, while another—a very picturesque old place—was knocked down to make way for the Institute. These recessed fronts were originally the town shops, in days prior to glass windows, for the display of goods, and here, sheltered from storm, was exposed the produce of the farm spinning-wheels to the wool badgers on market day. The house next door to the Institute, now occupied by Mrs. Taylor, is only about forty years old, having been burned down; but there exists an old painting at the Brown Cow Inn, which shews that its predecessor had one of the pences we have mentioned, though unsupported in any way by posts.

Behind the Market Hall there rises an isolated and rounded hillock, on the summit of which stands the old gray-towered church, dominating in a most striking way the little town below. It is by no means improbable that this knoll, naturally defensible as it is, was chosen for the original stockaded settlement—the “*sætr*” or “*sidha*”—of Haukr, who gave his name to town and parish. The site is a strong one; there is some evidence of scarping and ditching, and the theory is in accordance with the rule, that in early settlements the first stockaded enclosure was afterwards occupied by the temple or church—in early mediæval times a common hall or fortress for the community.*

The church has often been described, and we shall do no more here than point out the most interesting features. It is a very plain building, but it is perhaps the finest example of what may be termed the Lake District style. It consists of a square and somewhat massive tower, a wide nave and aisles, but has neither transepts nor a structural chancel; and, with the exception of the doors and windows, the entire building is rubble masonry of local Silurian stone.

* G. L. Gomme, “The Village Community,” London, 1890 (p. 44).



PLAN OF HAWKSHEAD CHURCH.

The tower appears to be the oldest part, but there is nothing by which we can give it a date. The nave is divided from the aisles by immense columns without either capitals or bases, supporting round arches of wide span; but, curiously, while the columns on the north are round or cylindrical, those on the south are roughly square in section. These great columns and arches at first sight look like rude work of Norman character, and as such the writer long considered them, until an opportunity occurred for examining the masonry under the plaster. It then appeared that they are constructed of thin quarried local stones, and the half column at the west end of the south arcade is not even bonded into the west wall of the church, which probably is also the case with the fellow half column on the north side. Though no one who has seen the masonry of these arcades exposed would claim a high antiquity for the body of the church, the question of the date remains difficult to decide. The south aisle contained certain windows with simple trefoil heads, and the east window prior to the restoration, in 1875-6, was a plain square-headed five-light window with similar trefoils. All these looked like fifteenth century work, so that probably the arcading was also of the same date, though from the masonry it might be later. Perhaps we may assume that the church in its present ground plan was rebuilt on an older site in the fifteenth century: although we cannot be quite sure about the north aisle, which was certainly built or rebuilt in the time of Elizabeth by Archbishop Sandys; and the east end of it was reserved as a private chapel for the use of his family, the "little quire" as it is called in the Parish Register. This chapel contains two curious effigies of the prelate's parents, while his own initials, arms, and date are still to be seen over the private entrance.*

The fifteenth century church was low and dark, being

* See Chapter III.

roofed under one span, and at some date a clerestory was added to give more light. The windows of this clerestory on the north are oak, and might be Elizabethan; those on the south are stone, and there is a date 1633, which may, however, perhaps refer only to the substitution on this side of stone for wooden mullions; but, at any rate, the clerestory is later than the body of the church.

The question arises, Is there any part of the original church (earlier than the fifteenth century) remaining? Unless it be the tower, we believe not. But the opinion of architectural authorities is that in these ancient north country churches the nave represents the size of the original church, generally pulled down at a later date and rebuilt with aisles. The length of Hawkshead Church is 81 feet 8 inches, and the nave width within the columns 23 feet. If these measurements represent the mediæval church, it was among the widest of the original churches in Carlisle Diocese. Other large churches are Brough, Greystoke, Warwick, Crosthwaite, and Ulverston. But it remains rather difficult to see why so large a church should be required in so out of the way a district as Hawkshead.*

The church was restored and re-opened in 1875-6, and the result is fairly satisfactory, though we cannot but regret the substitution of a pointed window at the east end for the original square-headed five-light one, which was characteristic of the place and period. Before leaving the church we should observe the stained glass inserted in this window by Colonel T. M. Sandys, M.P., and also a smaller modern stained-glass window in the south aisle. The curious ornamentation and texts on the walls and pillars is in great part old, having been discovered at the restoration and touched up. The church bells are also worth inspection, and also the ancient oak muniment chest in the

* Accounts of Hawkshead Church will be found in :—

Baines' "*History of Lancashire*," iv., p. 704.

Whitaker's "*Richmondshire*," ii., p. 400.

"*Transactions of Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*," iv., p. 28. "*Hawkshead Church*," by J. Cory. This gentleman was the architect at the restoration.

tower. There are besides, in the Vicar's custody, some very curious churchwardens' staves, and market measures, which, with the parish books, will receive our attention elsewhere.

We cannot but regret that at the restoration of the church the rough-cast which covered the walls externally was removed. No doubt there is something to be said for such a course, as we can study the masonry, which in churches often affords valuable evidence of date. But, from a picturesque point of view, the rough-cast was in admirable keeping with the town, which the plain masonry is not. Whatever was the fashion with builders when the church was first built we are not in a position to say, but at the time the greater part of the external walls were erected there is small doubt that rough-cast was in general use, for masonry as an art was then on the decline, and builders found that the only way to keep their walls dry in the humid north was by a thick coat of rough-cast. No doubt, in some ways, this was scamping work, but it served its purpose; in fact, walls built of local Silurian stone are not easy to waterproof otherwise, and we venture to believe that even at an earlier date the fashion prevailed. Rough-cast was indeed the necessary outcome of the material used and the climate; and, as is ever the case, appears both suitable and characteristic of the country. Indeed, before the restoration of the church and the erection of the Institute and police station, the entire town was alike in this respect, while now these buildings give it a sort of magpie colouring which undoubtedly takes away from its appearance.

At the foot of the Church hill, on the south-east, nestles the old Grammar School, the foundation of the good Archbishop Sandys, who did so much for his native parish. The building retains its original form, except that the plain windows and door have been replaced recently by sandstone mullions and dressings. Over the door is a great sundial, and below we can read on a tablet an inscription to the Archbishop's memory, placed there in 1675 by Daniel

Rawlinson, a citizen of London and native of Grisedale, who was himself a benefactor to the school, and whose great marble monument, with that of his son, Sir Thomas Rawlinson, now decorate the western internal wall of the church.

But the school deserves a chapter to itself, and we must continue our general survey of the township. Between Hawkshead and Hawkshead Hall the road passes over a rounded hill, on which is the hamlet of Gallowbarrow. Here no doubt stood in the days of monastic rule the gallows, erected when the feudal lords had power of life and death;† and on one of the houses there was formerly the following inscription recording the fact that the building had been purchased in pursuance of the will of another member of the Sandys family:—

“The Rev. Thomas Sandys, Curate of St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields, and Lecturer of St. James’, London, A.D. 1717, left by will the interest of £800 to endow the poorhouse and to maintain and educate as many poor boys as the interest will admit of, and they are to be taught at the free school. 1749.”

The house was purchased in 1730, and consequently nineteen years before the erection of this inscription, which has now long disappeared.‡

In the fields above Gallowbarrow in a pretty situation lies Keenground, originally built, as its name betokens, by a family called Keen, but now the residence of Mr. J. C. Cowper. For many generations, however, it was inhabited by a branch of the numerous clan of Rigges, ancestors of the present family of Wood Broughton. In modern times it

* These monuments were formerly in the destroyed St. Dionis Backchurch, Fenchurch Street. See the Author’s “Monumental Inscriptions of Hawkshead, Kendal, 1892,” pages 28, 29, and 65.

† Mr. T. Alcock Beck, in an unpublished MS., alludes to the Church Hill as “Gallaber,” but we do not know his authority. The post-Reformation gibbet was, as we shall see, near the head of Esthwaite. Galloway Lane, near Roger Ground, possibly owes its name to the strings of packhorses or “galloways” which came along it.

‡ See Appendix (Charities).

was acquired by the Reverend John Lodge, Librarian of Cambridge University, who was succeeded there by his nephew, Edmund Lodge, Inspector of Schools in India. His representatives on his demise disposed of the property to the writer's grandfather, who refronted it, much altering its appearance. Low Keenground is a typical north country farm house with round chimneys.

Below Hawkshead and on the edge of Esthwaite lies some of the best land in the parish, and the parallelism of the fences and the farm name Hawkshead Field plainly shew that here in old days lay the common fields of the little village community. Next comes Esthwaite Lodge, a pretty house, somewhat stiff and formal in architecture certainly, but very charmingly placed amidst well-grown timber. This house was the home of Thomas Alcock Beck, whose fine work on Furness Abbey is yet the most important contribution to the literature of that subject. It is at present the property of his successor, Wm. Alcock Beck, Esq., and we venture to think that this gentleman owns perhaps the most beautifully situated house within the limits of the ancient parish.

A little further south we reach, on the margin of the lake, an uninteresting-looking farm. This is all that remains of Esthwaite Hall, the residence for several generations up to the close of the seventeenth century of one branch of the Sandys family. Here the good Archbishop was traditionally born, and we cannot but regret that a place with such associations as Esthwaite Hall has been suffered to fall into its present condition.

So far we have said nothing about Esthwaite Water, which forms a delightful feature in the townships of Hawkshead and Claife, and is indeed the only lake which really belongs to the parish. Its scenery is gentle and soft, and though its surroundings of green fields and wooded heights are pretty enough, Esthwaite would be a little featureless were it not for the way in which its shore line is broken by promontories, especially those called Ecs and Strickland

Ees. There is, however, one place where a view of quite exceptional beauty can be obtained. This is a point in the copse-wood on the road, about two hundred yards west of the beck which runs out of the lake at the south end. From here we look straight up the lake, and the promontories, with their trees, give a delightful variety to the scene. The charm, however, is in the colouring—a summer's day should be chosen, for the foliage is the great feature—and in the distant hills about Helvellyn, which close the background. We see right through the gap of Dunmail Raise, and beyond we can just discern a blue outline—the slopes of Skiddaw. It needs but a few paces in either direction from the point and the picture is lost.

CLAIFE.

We have now arrived at the third quarter or township of our old parish, that of Claife, the western and north-western boundaries of which have already been defined. To the south it is limited by Cunsey Beck, while on the east, for five and a half miles, the western margin of Windermere forms the frontier, not only of the township and parish, but also of the county of Lancaster.

Claife differs in every way from the quarters already treated of, for it is nearly entirely occupied by a range of hill, part moorland, part wood, and part pasture, which runs nearly north and south, and completely isolates the town and valley of Hawkshead from busy Windermere. These heights—Claife Heights, as they are termed as a whole—are considerably more precipitous on the east, and from many of the points overlooking Windermere wide panoramic views of the lake and Westmorland fells are to be obtained. Among these summits many delightful rambles are to be had, and the mixture of colouring of heather, gorse, ravine, and larch is, at certain seasons of the year, exceedingly beautiful. Claife, as we shall see, is not without its history and traditions, its early prehistoric remains, its superstitions, its reminiscences of the rebellion of 1745; but in this chapter we must limit ourselves to description.



From a Photograph by Messrs. Brunsell.

ESTHWAITE VALLEY, LOOKING NORTH-EAST.

Claife is now divided into Upper and Lower Claife, each containing its own church. The first contains the hamlets of Wray, Lonethwaite, and Colthouse. Wray, again, is divided into High and Low Wray, but the latter has disappeared, merged in the estate of Wray Castle. The old houses of Low Wray stood where now are the lodge and church.

With Wray Castle presents itself the delicate task of criticising local domestic architecture, but in the interests of our beautiful parish we cannot conscientiously pass it by.

Guide-book writers and others have gone into ecstasies over the magnificence of this stately home; but we, alas, are totally unable to confirm its right to admiration. Wray Castle is conspicuously and outrageously feudal; its heavy tower and battlements may have, in some misty lights, a certain picturesqueness: but, given bright weather, when the details are seen, its total incongruity to its surroundings is but too evident.

To us it is difficult to see what excuse there is in the nineteenth century to build a house in this style. It can but be that same mistaken eccentricity which induced Mr. English to erect that strange enormity in architecture which decorates Long Holme, or, as it is now called in exactly the same fantastic spirit, "Belle Isle." Why should an English gentleman in the nineteenth century, in peaceful Lakeland, wish to live in a feudal fortress? We understand well the charm of fair landscape, and the comfort of a roomy home for those who can afford it; but may we not look forward to a period at which architects and owners will be content to build for what is wanted, to beautify and bring out detail on the lines of requirements, instead of imitating, and imitating recklessly and badly, buildings the style of which was dictated by needs of long past ages? Surely this is not much to expect. It is a canon of architectural art which was deeply taken to heart in the olden days, and why not now?

Wray Castle was commenced in 1840 for Doctor James Dawson, of Liverpool, and finished at an enormous cost, and

the same gentleman erected the church, which is decidedly pretty, near the Lodge Gate. The present owner is E. P. Rawnsley, Esquire, of Girsby Manor, Lincoln, who, however, does not reside here.*

Blelham Tarn lies near here, a sheet of water less than half a mile in length. If we stand to-day by its reedy margin it is a lonely enough place, for little life shall we see, unless in spring a heron sails away as we approach. Yet once it was different, and the black "stour" of a charcoal iron forge seethed up from its northern margin. There, at a place where a small beck joins the tarn, still lies a great heap of iron slag, evidence of a long dead and almost forgotten industry.†

South-east from here, at the base of Claife Heights, and commanding magnificent views of Windermere, is the hamlet of High Wray, with a pretty old-fashioned house, the residence of Miss Willson, whose family has lived here since 1728, when it was built by a member of the family. Two modern residences, High Wray Bank and Ballawray, are well situated on the slopes above the lake.

A winding lane round Latterbarrow will bring us back to the neighbourhood of Esthwaite, where near the lake head is the double hamlet of Colthouse, since the latter half of the seventeenth century a rendezvous of the Society of Friends, whose little rough-cast meeting house lies between the two clusters of buildings. In the first cluster are Green End and Beckside, both comfortable, but unpretending, residences, the latter of which was one of the old homes of the Satterthwaite family, who have always been associated here with the Society of Friends. Beckside still belongs to them, and the present representative is William Satterthwaite, J.P., who resides in the modern house close by.

The little meeting house, whose history we tell elsewhere, is worth a visit. It is built on a plan adopted by the

* Since writing the above, Wray Castle and its estate of 830 acres has been sold (June, 1898) to Mr. David Ainsworth at the price of £25,000, the local Press remarking that the house alone cost in building £60,000.

† See Chapter V.

Quakers for all their meeting houses in the north, a plain rough-cast building, its greater length lying north and south, and a little porch facing the road to the east.

There is nothing to suggest religious devotion in such a building; so rigid was the rule which banished from the observances of this sect every sign of the pomp of ritual, every feeling which, in most communities, leads to a wish to decorate and beautify the houses of prayer, that these little buildings seem on first sight but humble cottages. Plain stone-mullioned windows, with a transom, light it on the south and west, while in those on the east the mullions have been replaced by ordinary sashes. A heavy oaken door, in the lock of which is the ancient key, opens into the building, and within, a gallery (approached from the porch) appears to be old and its balusters of oak, although now painted.

At the head of the lake is a solitary dub, "Priest Pot" by name, evidence, we think, that this was a private fishery pertaining to Hawkshead Hall—a far more probable derivation than the somewhat silly explanations advanced by some writers.* Here, the older guide-books tell us, was formerly a floating island, a phenomenon which the writers of the early half of the century describe with great care as a prodigious marvel.† It seems, however, to have been but a poor affair, a bit of peaty earth, 24 yards by 5 or 6 yards, with a tree or two upon it, which had got loose from the side. Floating islands were a special craze, somehow, of those talented folks who discovered the lake district, but they seem now to have got neglected, and taking umbrage at their treatment have either formed a new and permanent attachment, or else have precipitated themselves despairingly to the bottom of the lake.

Close by here, on the south side of the road, and on the

* See Richardson's "Furness, Past and Present," p. 101.

† Housman, Otley, and others. The island is now grown to the south-east margin of the tarn. It probably owed its origin to the leverage of wind against trees which had grown on it, the pressure thus detaching a portion of the peaty margin. According to Housman, it broke loose about 1796.

Colthouse side of the stream, formerly stood the gibbet, the last record of the use of which is to be found in a ghastly entry in the Parish Register in the year 1672. The exact situation was at a place still known as Gibbet Moss, as the Register puts it, "on the south side of Sawrey Casey (Causeway) neare unto the Pool-stang." Though every trace of this gibbet has now disappeared, there were till about 1860, many persons who remembered the gallows-post still standing, and elderly folks still do so; while the writer of a commonplace book, to which we shall hereafter refer, records the popular dread of approaching the site even by daylight.

Lower Claife contains the hamlets of Near and Far Sawrey, or Sawrey Infra and Extra as they are often called in old documents. In general character they are somewhat alike, scattered, rambling villages on broken ground; but the first has the advantage of pretty views of Esthwaite Lake. Each possesses one or two prettily-placed private residences, Eeswyke* at Near Sawrey and Brierswood at Far Sawrey being the principal ones. The latter, a modern mansion in the half-timber style, was formerly called the Briers, an estate (like most of the old farms about Sawrey), till the beginning of this century, of the Braithwaites, who, as we shall hereafter see, were a regular clan in this corner of the parish.

And here we must again face the invidious task of criticizing local domestic architecture. There are many modern houses in the lakes which are truly hideous. This is in no sense the case with the modern half-timber houses of Pullwoods and Brierswood, for the former is a distinctly beautiful building. But the architectural style is foreign, and such houses cannot fall into proper accord with the landscape. The truth is that both owners and architects, when building in a beautiful country, want more than good taste and skill: they want a knowledge of climate, history, and geology. The picturesque charm of all local indigenous

* Recently purchased by Col. T. M. Sandys, M.P., and renamed Eeswyke from the bay on Esthwaite close by. Its name before purchase was Lake Field.

architecture is due to its being of natural local development, the outcome of the necessities of the inhabitants, and the materials provided by nature for their wants. Styles in which wrong or unlocal materials are made use of are eccentric, and buildings in such styles can never be in real harmony with the country, though they may be of merit as buildings. But though these half-timber mansions may not be altogether satisfactory we must acknowledge the great advance in taste since the erection of the house at Belle Isle (Long Holme) one hundred years ago, and the colossal architectural anachronism of more recent date at Wray.

From Far Sawrey a fell lane leads back past a building with the curious name of Scutching House, on to Colthouse heights. Tradition (not very complimentary in this case to the good folks of Sawrey) relates that when the Highlanders were marching south in 1745, so terrified were the villagers that they took refuge, or rather we may conceive concealed themselves, in a building up this lane. But the Highlanders never came on this side of Windermere at all, so we charitably imagine that really an abandonment of the village was only projected if necessary, and this building was suggested as a place of concealment. The story is narrated by Miss Martineau, but is still known in the district: Miss Martineau, however, has fallen into one error, which leads us to suspect another. She designates the building "Cook's braw bog house"—a strange blunder, for the real name is "Cuckoo Brow hog house," that is, the "hog house" or sheep shelter at Cuckoo Brow Lane. This lane, however, she calls Scotch Gate. Now there is a Cook's House near Troutbeck, on Windermere, much nearer the line of march, and we are almost inclined to think that Miss Martineau has got hold of two separate traditions on the subject, and blundered them into one.

The southernmost part of Claife down to Cunsey Beck need not detain us long, for it approaches closely in character to many parts of Satterthwaite Parish. Out Dubs, like Priest Pot, is a solitary tarn isolated from the lake near its foot: and

Bishop Woods may possibly record an "improvement" of the Bishop of Llandaff who lived a hundred years ago, across the lake at Calgarth. Descending a steep hill below Briers we come to the Ferry Nab, with a fine and well-managed modern hotel, its steamer pier, its steam ferryboat, and in summer its well-dressed little crowd, for the hotel very rightly attracts the best class of Lake district visitors: and it is here that twice a week in summer the yacht races have their starting-point. The Ferry will come often into these pages, for it does not lack the savour of history, tradition, and sport: we shall have at different times to discuss its antiquity, its legends, and its wrestling meetings, so we must leave it for the present to complete our tour of the township.

From the Ferry to Wray we pass first the old farm of Harrowslack, another old Braithwaite estate. This family also owned the Ferry and Ferry Nab, and built the station on the hill above, a queer place where the old guide-book writers used to go into raptures over the view of the lake, which, seen through stained glass, was supposed to exhibit the tints of the various seasons. Then we enter a real woodland road, not a thicket like the copse grown alleys about Graythwaite, but real woodland, with fine trees and glorious vistas through them of Windermere. These woods were, we believe, planted by one of the Curwens, of Workington Hall, who own also the biggest island on Windermere, which now lies opposite us.

Of this island we must say a word or two here, for, although it is in Windermere and part of Westmorland, it is within almost a stone's throw of Hawkshead territory. It is by far the biggest island on the lake, and is the only one which has had from time immemorial a residence upon it. Anciently, we gather from Burns' "History of Westmorland," it was called "Wynandermere Island," but the general name till towards the close of the last century was The Holme, or Long Holme, and the house upon it was Holme House. Originally part of the estate of the Philipsons of Calgarth, it came in 1774 into the hands of a Mr. Thomas English, who pulled down the old house and built the present

bastard classic structure. This gentleman committed other enormities, for he laid out an ugly, formal garden, which raised the just ire of Hutchinson, West, and Gilpin;* and in these "improvements" he laid out, it is said, £6,000. Shortly after, it was acquired by the Curwens, of Workington; but it was probably under the hands of English that it was grotesquely re-named Bella Island, a new form of which (Belle Isle) is unfortunately still sometimes used. From the works carried out by Mr. English, however, some good came, for the remains of a "beautiful pavement, curiously paved with pebbles of small size," gravel-walks, and other relics were discovered, which prove fairly conclusively that some Roman building was here—a summer villa, we think possibly, for the officer in command at the Ambleside camp.

But the hand of time has now toned down the colouring of Mr. English's villa; his formal garden has disappeared, and spreading oaks cluster round the house, so that it no longer forms a conspicuous or objectionable feature. Indeed, the "great island," with its rich masses of foliage, breaks up most effectively the span of the lake; and, with the wooded heights of Claife, forms from many points on the Westmorland side a very beautiful picture. †

Our survey is now almost complete. The road winds by the lake margin past Belle Grange (Bella Grange it is on old maps), built either by English or the Curwens, and soon after ascends the hill and reaches High Wray. Here we must leave Claife, and turn to the fourth township, that of Satterthwaite, which lies to the south of those described, spanning the full width of the original parish.

SATTERTHWAITE.

Satterthwaite is the heart of Furness fells, a land of broken heathery hill crests, of narrow valleys, of waving

* "Tour in the Lakes," by W. Hutchinson, 1776, p. 188; "Guide to the Lakes," by T. West, 1784, pp. 59, 60; "Observations on Picturesque Beauty," by W. Gilpin, 1792, p. 146.

† The legend of Robin the Devil has been so frequently repeated in print that we do not think it necessary to give it here.

larches, and feathery copse. Here we are less in touch with civilization than in any other part of the parish, for in Monk Coniston and Claife we have fine modern hotels: Colton has its railway, and even the mother township of Hawkshead itself is in some ways a place of pilgrimage—a Wordsworth shrine. But in Satterthwaite we are away from all these. The township, indeed, touches both Windermere and Coniston to east and west, but their banks are quiet, and we wander in solitude. On Windermere, indeed, we see the steamers tearing past, loaded in summer with visitors, and the white wings of the racing yachts dip to the water as they silently float by; but nobody lands, and the pheasants and rabbits only lift their heads for a minute, and heed these disturbances no more.

The northern limits of the township have been defined in describing those of Monk Coniston, Hawkshead, and Claife. To the south the boundary line quits the margin of Coniston between Fir Island and Coplands Barn, and ascends the fell passing between The Park and High Birk: it then turns south and runs to a point east of the hill called Top o' Selside, whence it descends to near Ash Slack by the valley of Bell Beck. Here, near Rook How Meeting House, it turns north-east, and, passing over Stricely Fell, reaches the Dale Park Beck a little distance below the farm of Low Dale Park. Hence it goes nearly east towards Graythwaite Hall, but, turning south-east something over half a mile west of the house, it makes a sharp elbow on Great Green Hows, and then falls into Windermere, in a nameless bay right opposite Blake Holme on the eastern side.

The township, thus bounded, is divided longitudinally, *i.e.*, from north to south, by three ridges of fell, thus partitioning it into two lake side districts and two valleys, all of which are cut off from each other except by the bridle tracks which cross the fells. The western of the two valleys is the more important, for it contains the hamlet of Grisedale and village of Satterthwaite: the last being the old chapelry of Hawkshead after its severance from Colton. Grisedale lies at the head

of pleasant fields, a grey little cluster of neat houses, past which courses Grisedale Beck on its way to Force Forge and Rusland. Old Grisedale Hall stood back on a road leading to the west, and is said to have been for some three centuries the home of a 'statesman family named Tomlinson. It was, however, for several generations, from the commencement of the seventeenth century, the home of one of the numerous branches of the Rawlinsons of Graythwaite, and from this particular line sprang Daniel and Sir Thomas, two city magnates, whose great marble monuments, now on the west wall of the Church, we have already told the strange story of.

Grisedale Old Hall has been turned into a modern farm of no interest, but there was at one time, in the Rawlinson Collection of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, a plan and elevation of it, for which in 1887 we instituted a fruitless search. It afterwards passed to the Reverend Thomas Bowman, whose son pulled down the old house.

On the left hand of the road, after passing through the village, is Grisedale New Hall, a comfortable and roomy country house, built by Montague Ainslie, Esquire, who acquired considerable property in the valley, and effected numerous improvements, planting, it is said, a million and a half larch trees. The house was considerably added to by the late Mr. William Ainslie, Member of Parliament for the North Lonsdale division of Lancashire; and it is now the residence of Mr. Ernest Ainslie, grandson of the first named.

A mile and a half below we reach Satterthwaite, like Grisedale, on the stream—pretty enough, but rather featureless, for although it is supposed the chapel existed in the sixteenth century, the present building is modern and without interest: below this the stream zigzags to Force Forge, a small centre of industry, to which we must return in a later chapter.

Over the fell to the east lies Dale Park, owing its name we believe to Abbot Banke, who "of the tenements of Richard Myellner and others at a place called Gryesdale, in Furness Fells, made another park" (besides others he had

made in Low Furness) "to put deer into, which park is about five miles in compass."* This description answers well, and this narrow lonely valley, with its three isolated farms, "High, Middle, and Low Dale Parks," would, we think, be well suited for the purpose.

The road which winds down Dale Park is nowadays less frequented and less cared for than that by Grisedale, or either of those on the lake margins. Yet it is a very ancient one—the old main road, indeed, from Ulverston to Hawkshead—and there is some reason to believe that it takes the place of an old Roman way.

Over Dale Park Fell we come to Graythwaite, the wooded sides of which descend to Windermere. In this part of Satterthwaite there are one or two farms, three gentlemen's houses, Mr. Parson's Electric Works at Cunsey Mill,† on Cunsey Beck, near which also is the Forge, and at the two last-named places we find great heaps of smelted iron slag, the *débris* of the bloomeries worked here in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Riding south from Esthwaite by the Lakeside road, we first reach Graythwaite Hall, the seat of the family of Sandys since probably about the end of the fifteenth or commencement of the sixteenth century.

The reader will find in other parts of this volume some description of this house, as well as a few biographies of members of the family who especially distinguished themselves. We may note, however, here that the house is not well situated, for it is so low that it commands no view of Windermere, in spite of its proximity, nor is it visible except by occasional glimpses from the high road. Colonel Sandys, the present owner, has of recent years spent a large sum over the estate, re-building the stables, re-fronting the house, building stables and lodges, and re-building

* "Pleadings and Depositions, Duchy of Lancaster," quoted by T. K. Fell. See the "Book of Coniston," by W. G. Collingwood, page 65.

† Cunsey Mill was first a Bloom-smithy, then a Bobbin Mill, and now an Electric establishment: such an aid to industry is water power.

many of the farms. An enormous stone wall, which, however, encircles a large part of the park, effectually precludes the traveller from a view of the recent alterations about the hall.

Immediately after Graythwaite Hall a road turns to the right, and crosses the fell to Rusland; and passing the end of this, we see immediately the old house of the Rawlinsons, Graythwaite Low Hall, which faces right into the road. Of this charming old place we shall have much to say elsewhere. It is a typical old rough-cast gentleman's house, of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and it still retains much of the ancient character. Its neat garden with clipped yews, its ranges of offices with the dated and initialled vane, its low dark rooms with massive carved oaken furniture, and its great open hall hearth and cast-iron fire back, all speak of the lives and simple wants of an old north country family. The estate was in the sixteenth century the property of a family of Sawreys, from whom it passed in the time of Henry the Eighth to the Rawlinsons of Colton, an ancient and probably autochthonous stock, who made it their principal home. A new modern house, commanding a view of the lake, was, however, built about eighty years ago by Mr. John Job Rawlinson, which is at present owned by one of his grandsons, Mr. J. B. Rawlinson, who has removed to it some of the fine old furniture and portraits.

Though there was once a chapel at Graythwaite, it is not known where it stood, and even in Bishop Gastrell's time it had been so long disused that apparently only one boy could be found who remembered his grandfather to have spoken of using it as a place of worship. One other feature only need detain us before we turn to Colton, a magnificent oak tree standing by the roadside, which is passed on the left after leaving Graythwaite Low Hall for Lakeside. This tree is not remarkable for its age, but for its magnificent growth. Its bole is tall, straight, and of beautiful proportions, for the tree is in the prime of

life. Unfortunately, however, the "great oak" got mauled in its branches by the great storm of 1894: yet it is still a veritable king of the woods.

A great part of Satterthwaite, especially the south and east sides, is densely clothed in thick copse-wood, a profitable enough growth in former times, when charcoal was required in quantity for the numerous iron-smelting hearths, and when swills, trenchers, platters, pails, and piggins were all manufactured locally, or coopered in wood. Even when this demand gave out, the value of the coppices was maintained for some time owing to the demand for bobbins, after the introduction of spinning machinery; but now foreign wood has come into competition, and these copses are so diminished in value that landowners are at a loss to know what is the best to be done with these rough intakes, hardly more suitable for grazing than for crops. Even to form larch plantations is not easy, for the dense growth of hazel must be destroyed first—no easy task.

COLTON PARISH.

We have now arrived at Colton—Hawkshead's younger sister we may term it, for it sprang into life as a separate parish in 1676. Its boundaries need not detain us, for they have already been described in detailing those of the township or chapelry of Satterthwaite, and those of the undivided parish. The four townships into which Colton itself is partitioned, have also been enumerated, so that it only remains for us to describe them in order, taking them as we have done in Hawkshead, from west to east.

NIBTHWAITE.

Nibthwaite occupies the western side of the parish, the boundary line which separates it from Colton west and Colton east passing, according to the Ordnance Survey, in a zig-zag line over the fells, from the southern point of the Satterthwaite Valley till it joins the Crake a little

below Bridgefield. But within Nibthwaite is Bethacar Moor, adjoining the farm of the same name,* a piece of fell land belonging in common to more than one township, and on which certain detached portions only appertain to Nibthwaite.

About one-half of the eastern margin of Coniston lies in this part of Colton, and it is from the high ground above the lake, especially in the vicinity of Parkamoor, now a farm, and once an isolated grange of the Abbey, that in our opinion the grandest views of the lake can be obtained. For at the Waterhead the view down the water to the south is tame, and we are too hemmed in among the high fells for them to compose; indeed, their very proximity in clear weather detracts to a certain degree from their beauty, for their lines and colouring, unsoftened by haze, stand out too strong. From the hills above Nibthwaite, however, the view forms a true picture. Coniston Old Man and Weatherlam are seen almost end on, their contours being very striking, and with the more distant hills of Langdale and Grasmere they make a most imposing group, a wonderfully effective background to the peaceful lake. From here, too, the light and shade on these hills is very beautiful, and we know no more charming scene than this is on a frosty morning in early winter, when the slopes are streaked with silvered snow, and a delicate haze lingers over the water, and drifts, a shimmering film, over the village and round the bases of the hills.

At a little over a mile from the foot of the lake, and close to a promontory on the Colton side, lies Peel Island, proved in 1896, by excavations undertaken by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, to be an ancient stronghold. Peel Island is by nature a fortlet, for it lies with steep rocky sides jutting from the water like a little battleship, with its tiny calf or islet at one end like a ship's jolly-boat. It has its season now—a season when the hollows between its rocky ridges are all a mass of bluebells—and many are the merry parties of

* "Bothaker," according to Baines ("History of Lancashire," iv. 701), belonging to one Thomas Dodgson, 1 Henry VIII.

picnickers who land here for tea and chatter, heedless and ignorant of the hidden past of this romantic little place.*

Further down we pass another nab or promontory, with the house of Mr. A. P. Bridson, Water Park—beautifully placed, and, being rough-cast, thoroughly in keeping with the scenery. Then where the lake narrows and the Crake commences we get to High Nibthwaite, formerly a place of some little industry, for at different dates it has boasted its iron-smelting bloomery, its bobbin mills, its gun-powder works, its tan yard, and here also was the quay where the slate from Tilberthwaite was landed from the barges. Nibthwaite was in fact the port here, and when iron, copper, and slate works were all in operation must have been a busy little place, with its barges, stock sheds, pack-horses, and waggon. Till 1846 there was also here, as at Priest Pot and Derwentwater, a floating island, 20 yards square, which, with a birch or two growing on it, floated detached, until in October of the year mentioned a strong north-east wind with heavy rains put an end to its performances.

No greater difference can we find than that between the Crake river, which is here our boundary, and her northern sister, the Brathay. The valley lies indeed between fells, rough in outline and clad with heather, but we may seek in vain for the variety we get at Colwith, Langdale, and Skelwith. The Crake and the Leven are both beautiful, but their beauty is placid, so that they seem to say, "We are rivers, no mere mountain becks like those of Yewdale, Brathay, and Rothay, who feed but the great pools of Coniston and Windermere. To the green sea we bear the blue waters of these lakes, and the brave sea-birds and silver salmon haunt our banks and pools."

We have but little else to note in Nibthwaite. The hills rise sharper from the river on our side, and we

* There is no historical record of Peel Island as an inhabited site, but we shall have to revert to the subject in Chapter III. The place enters into Mr. W. G. Collingwood's romance, "*Thorstein of the Mere*." Peel Island has two other names—Montague Island, so called from its belonging to the Montagues, and "*the Gridiron*," from its long ridges of rock.

look across at the wooded hamlets of the chapelries of Blawith and Lowick, the old manor place of the last of which—the ancient home of the Lowicks and Ambroses—we can just see among its trees. At Lowick the river is spanned by a bridge, the ancient site of which may at one time have been a little further down, for here we reach Bridgefield, once a residence of a branch of the Penny family, whose chief home was lower down at Crake Bridge, or Penny Bridge as it was called when rebuilt in 1587. But the hamlets of Penny Bridge, Lowick Bridge, Sparkbridge with its bobbin mills, and even Greenodd itself, are all on the west side of the river, and therefore over the border.

COLTON WEST AND COLTON EAST.

Colton West and Colton East, divided by Colton beck, we may take together. In the first named we have Abbot Park, a name calling us back to days of monasticism. At Tottlebank there is an ancient Baptist church, founded as long ago as 1669, in the days when Nonconformists were persecuted by the Conventicle Act. Tottlebank was an early residence of the Rawlinsons, and it was at the house of William Rawlinson, of Tottlebank, on the 18th of “ye sixth month called Augt 1669,” that the oldest entry in the books of the church was made. The Rawlinsons at various times favoured Nonconformity, and perhaps the curious rambling building which now stands, more like an almshouse than a place of worship, may occupy the site of Rawlinson’s house.* The church was renovated in 1864 and 1896.

Opposite Greenodd, where the two rivers join, is Legbarrow Point, and here the Lakeside Branch of the Furness Railway turns north-east to follow the Leven valley.

The boundary between Colton East and Haverthwaite follows Rusland Pool from the point where it joins the Leven to a quarter of a mile south of Rusland, whence it crosses (undefined) Rusland Moss, and meets Satterthwaite at its southernmost limit. It contains numerous scattered farms, most of which

* For further details see Chapter II.

have Norse names like "Ickenthwaite" (perhaps the "squirrels' field"), Whitestock Hall, and Hulleter. Oxen Park and Bouth are almost villages—big hamlets at any rate—while at Colton itself, which gives its name to the parish, there is little more than the Church, School, and Vicarage. Greenhead, close by, however, was the original home, it is said, of the clan Rawlinson.

Colton church is well worth a visit—a typical old lakeland edifice, with plain rough-cast walls, square embattled tower, and windows which are for the most part of sixteenth century



COLTON CHURCH.

date.* Though there existed a chapel (as Gastrell tells us) under the Abbey, it was not consecrated until 1578, when it was made by Archbishop Sandys the Parochial Chapel under Hawkshead. In 1603 one of the Rawlinsons, of Greenhead, hard by, rebuilt it, and in 1676 it was made an independent parish.

* One window on the south side of two lights has original trefoil heads, similar to some of those at Hawkshead, and dating perhaps from late in the fifteenth century.

About the church there is more than one object of interest. On the hill below is an ancient well of dressed freestone, dating in all probability from pre-Reformation days. In the church-yard is a dated sun-dial (1674), which the late Vicar (Mr. Williams) found in pieces in 1886, and restored. There are two fountains, one with the wardens' initials and date 1718, and the other found in 1889, doing duty as the base for the more modern one; the earlier is octagonal, and probably of fifteenth century date. Lastly, there is an early bell, which hung in the tower till 1887, of which we shall have to speak elsewhere.

Leaving the church we can make our way to Oxenpark, where, if we can unearth an old inhabitant, he will take us to a field close by and show us a circular ring ditch dug in the turf—the old cockpit in the gallant days of old. From here we can soon reach the Rusland Valley, on the west side of which in a pretty situation is Whitestock Hall, the home of Mr. J. Romney, a descendant of the painter. In a field nearly opposite the house, on the east side of the road, stands an upright, weathered block of stone about four feet high, undoubtedly erected by human agency, and probably at a very remote period. Possibly it formed once part of a megalithic circle, or, if erected separately, it may mark a chieftain's grave. Anyhow, here it stands, though probably if we ask at any farm-house near they will never have heard of it, and if we take the farmer to look at it we shall get laughed at for our pains.

Though we are in sight of Rusland Hall, it lies in the next township, to which we shall come later. In Colton East there is little else to notice. In Bouth we have an early and interesting name, which speaks for itself. That the oldest settlement was at Colton beck-side we may infer from the fact that the chapel was erected there; but, apart from the name, we have evidence that Bouth soon became the more important centre of population in the fact that the old coach road from Kendal to Dalton and Cumberland (for that by the river-side dates only from 1820) made a great bend north in order to touch at it.

The isolation of Colton church, indeed, seems to show that the chapelry is very old;—that when the first place of worship was erected, it was the centre of population—but that Bouth having increased, the waggons, pack-horses, and, later, the coaches, diverged to pass through it, and so the neighbourhood of the church was neglected, while Bouth slightly increased.

A little west of Bouth is a most uninteresting edifice of three stories, commonly known as the Old Hall. Anciently this was Colton Hall, the residence for a few generations of a branch of the Sandys family, a member of which, one Adam (who, we believe, was a grandson of the Adam who obtained the letters patent for the Hawkshead Market), devised in 1662 an estate of the annual value of £62 for the maintenance of a preaching schoolmaster. At Black beck, north-east from Bouth, there are gunpowder works, established 1862 by Messrs. F. C. Dickon and Co., and here on July 25th, 1868, an explosion took place, in which nine persons were killed; and another, fortunately without loss of life, in 1898.*

HAVERTHWAITE, FINSTHWAITE, AND RUSLAND.

The boundaries of this township, the last of the divisions of Hawkshead, have been defined, so that we need but give some description of this very charming district. In many ways it is not dissimilar to Nibthwaite, but here we are far more in touch with civilization, for the branch of the Furness Railway traverses the Leven Valley, on the Hawkshead side, from Greenodd to Lakeside, and thence the busy steamers transport their loads of visitors to the Ferry, Bowness, or Ambleside.

The Lake and River Leven thus form the east and south-east boundaries, sweeping round and enclosing the same rough copse-grown heights that we have already got accustomed to, which, however, just south of Bortree Tarn rise to an elevation of 795 feet.

* See also Chapter V.

Entering this township by the Dale Park Road from Hawkshead, we first pass Thwaite head ("T'waite head" we call it in the vernacular*), and then following the course of Ashes beck, so called from the *débris* carried down from a bloomery site at Low Dale Park, we suddenly emerge on the dale of Rusland, which, in this land of narrow vales and wooded "rigs," is quite an important valley.

As Hawkshead, the home of Haukr, was from its situation the most important settlement in the northern part of the parish, so was Rusland, the land of Hrolf, in the south. Not that they were necessarily earlier than Finsthwaite, Haverthwaite, or Satterthwaite, for the more level land round them, overgrown with scrub and forest, as it would be at that date, was not necessarily very superior to other sites on the breezy hillsides, so that we cannot be certain that the valleys were settled first. But when the lower country was cleared, and the jungle turned to meadow, the land slowly acquired greater value than the hillside homes. Why, then, may we ask, did not the Colton chapelry have its centre of population in Rusland Vale, instead of on the rough hillside overlooking Colton beck?

To this we do not find it easy to make an adequate reply; but, as far as we can see, the best explanation is that the waterways of Coniston and Windermere dragged aside to some extent the traffic which would otherwise have followed the Dale Park and Rusland Road to Hawkshead. Consequently, Rusland did not fill up as it otherwise would have done. Probably, also, the course of Rusland Pool, lower down, remained boggy and grown up, while a capital fellside track led up the east side of Colton beck. The important track, too, from Kendal to Dalton passed along the hillsides above the Leven, far away from Rusland, but within a more moderate distance of Colton itself, where the chapel was

* From the peculiar pronunciation often given to this Norse word, we are inclined to think that the people, ignorant of its origin, believe that the true name is "Waite," and the "Th" the article "The" contracted in the local manner to "t." Thus, Thwaite head is distinctly t'Waite head, and elsewhere we find "Waite" only. Thus we get the pronunciations "Waite Mills" and "Ha'waites" (Hallthwaites), in Cumberland.

established. Later, when the mountain track became a defined coach road, Bouth had become large enough for the road to be deflected to pass through it, and consequently it usurped the place of Colton, and had its two yearly fairs, which continued till about fifty years ago.

Where Grisedale beck and Dale Park or Ashes beck unite to form Rusland Pool, there are numerous cross roads, which are very puzzling to the stranger. On one of these is the hamlet of Crosslands, named possibly from a long destroyed wayside cross. Not far distant on the Dale Park—Colton Road is the modern church of Rusland, originally built 1745 as a chapel-of-ease, and restored in 1868. Further west, nestling in trees on the hillside near where the Satterthwaite and Dale Park roads unite, is Rook How, or Abbot Oak, a Friends' meeting house, established in 1725,* for monthly meetings. Retracing our steps across the pool, we come to Rusland Hall, the residence of Mrs. Archibald, which, though situated with its back right on the road, looks well from the front and commands a fine view of the valley.

Rusland Hall, like many of the old houses in High Furness, probably owes its erection to the Rawlinsons. It was, at any rate, the property of a branch of that family from the days of Thomas (born 1574) to William, who died in 1760. The eldest son of the first-named was, however, perhaps the first to reside there—one Captain Rawlinson, who raised a body of local volunteers, and was present at Marston Moor. It is said he commenced the iron works at Force Forge, and probably on this account took up his residence at Rusland. In or about 1760 it was purchased by the Walkers, from whom it descended to the present family of Archibald. Rusland Hall consists of a square block, probably of late seventeenth century date, with formal rows of tall windows to the front, and a central door. Possibly these windows had originally transoms and mullions, and if so, the house would date from the time

* Rook How is half meeting house, half cottage; and the date of building is preserved both on a pierced iron lock and an oak locker in the dwelling part.

of Charles II. In modern times two wings have been added on either side, without altering the old building, and much increasing the accommodation. An old picture of the house preserved at Rusland shows the house as it was, with the public road running in front instead of behind it.

Following the course of Rusland Pool, we eventually come on to the old coach road, where we pass Abbots Reading, the residence of A. B. Dickson, Esq. A cross road leads from Causeway end to the 1820 road, where we pass Hollow Oak, the residence since the beginning of last century of the Machells and Penny Machells. Haverthwaite (the oatlands clearing), is a pretty village, close to the railway, with its church built in 1825 a short distance away, and the railway station about half-way on the road to Backbarrow.

If we drive through Graythwaite Woods to Lakeside, we pass Stot Park, lately bought by Mr. Deakin, and then we come to a place where the road forks; that to the right leading directly to Finsthwaite, while the other takes us to Lakeside and Newby Bridge.

Finsthwaite is a retired hamlet of the usual character, the chapel of which was originally built in 1724, and rebuilt in 1874.* Further along the road we come to Finsthwaite House, a picturesque old residence which probably dates from the last century. Finsthwaite House was formerly Plum Green, or "Ploome Greene," as it is generally called in the Hawkshead Register, and was for generations the home of the principal branch of the Tailors or Taylers, a strong clan in this district. At the end of the last century it was in the occupation of Mr. James King, who erected a tower or observatory above Newby Bridge, which still forms a prominent landmark.

Lakeside, naturally a singularly charming place, is sadly disfigured by the modern hotel and railway station, for this is a terminus to the Furness branch line from Ulverston.

* There are many stories and traditions in this part of the Fells which must be reserved for a later chapter. Among them are those of Clementina Sobiesky Douglass, the "Princess," buried at Finsthwaite; Black Jack of Graythwaite; Kitty Dawson; The Elingarth brow "dobbie"; The Rusland Rawlinsons and Copper Mining.

The long quay for the steamers, backed by the sheds of the railway station, sadly marr the beauty; and the hotel is built in a style of architecture in every way unsuited to the surroundings. This end of Windermere is remarkably like the Nibthwaite end of Coniston, but while the one is absolutely spoiled, the other retains its beauties undeseccrated.

We do not feel that much, if any, good would come of entering a protest here against the policy adopted of recent years by the Furness Railway Company of running numerous cheap trips to the Lake district. Much as we sympathise with those who say that the overworked of crowded cities deserve to see and enjoy the lovely scenes and pure air of our district—which steam traffic has brought within access even to the poor—we do not hesitate to say that we have no sympathy with those who are mainly instrumental in forwarding the cheap-trip system policy. With both railway company, inn and lodging-house keepers, and owners of boats and traps, it is of course purely a question of what pays them best. But this purely selfish policy, unchecked as it is by those who ought to oppose it tooth and nail, is slowly but surely ruining, sentimentally, the Windermere district. Those who have known Bowness, Ambleside, and Windermere during the last twenty years will comprehend all we say.

The keepers of the first-class hotels know that every year, as trips increase in numbers, the upper class of visitors—the paying sort—decrease, and, disgusted at the continual uproar and rowdyism, seek other holiday resorts further from the “madding crowd.” Fortunately, in Hawkshead ancient parish we see little of all this. A crowded train arrives at Lakeside, and the steamer, packed with trippers so densely that they can hardly stir, whirls them away to the discordant sounds of the concertina, past the Ferry Hotel, to Bowness or Ambleside, where they are landed, and regaled by brass band and nigger troupes; and where, perhaps, meeting the tide of another cheap trip, brought by the London and North Western Company to Windermere Station, they contrive to turn this unfortunate district into a perfect pandemonium.

With relief, then, we turn our backs on Lakeside, and, passing Mr. Newby Wilson's house, "The Landing," we follow the road to the fine old bridge spanning the river, which we should cross either on the road to Kendal or Cartmel. Here stands the Swan Inn, or the White Swan as it was formerly generally called, a real picturesque old country hostelry that does one good to look at—an old posting house in coaching-days, and a notable resort for anglers even now.

As on the Crake, so on the Leven, do we find that the chief hamlets are on the bank outside our boundaries. Backbarrow and Lowwood are the principal ones, both places of some little industry at different periods, with ironworks, mills, and powder works. Yet, in spite of railway and mills, a beautiful place is the Leven, with its bridges, its sluices and dams, and its islets—beautiful in its hanging woods and eddying pools. Here we must leave the Leven—leave her tripping along her moss-grown banks, with her silvery laughter and dimpling cheeks, until at Greenodd she meets her fair young sister, Crake, and hand in hand they dance merrily to the sea.



CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

MODERN science, as it advances, tends to relegate the origin of mankind to epochs so remote, that we are forced to step from archaeology to anthropology and geology, to trace man in his earlier history. Dates have to be cast aside, and even figures and statistics, based upon the growth of rocks and alluvial deposits, bewilder us with their long rows of ciphers, and even more with the widely divergent conclusions which eminent anthropologists draw from these calculations upon the origin of mankind.

With these dim epochs and abstruse problems we are, however, perhaps fortunately, not brought into contact in treating of the history of Hawkshead; for hitherto no evidence has been found in this part of England of palæolithic, and much less of pleistocene, man. Evidences, however, are not wanting that this district was inhabited in remote prehistoric times—the epochs when man wrought his tools and weapons from the native rock, and forged his spear and dagger of shining bronze. Here, then, commence the annals of Hawkshead.

In these days—the days of the earliest known human occupation—the face of the district known now as Furness Fells must have worn a vastly different aspect to that at the present time. Consisting as it does of a series of undulating valleys and minor fells, and placed at the foot of the rugged heights and higher hills which close it in to north and west, it would appear to the first-comers, if they approached from the south, as an immense *cul-de-sac*, where

at any rate the "faint hearts," as they surveyed the rocky barrier, whose summits are so often cloud-capped, would probably pitch their wigwams; and pause, at least, before entering an inhospitable mountain region, which for all they knew might extend for many miles.

If, on the other hand, they came from the north, the horrors of the fells were to them a thing of the past. From rugged Kirkstone and Helvellyn's slopes their keen eyes would have scanned the lesser heights of Furness, with its broad sheets of water, and its valleys filled, no doubt, at that period with a dense growth of scrub and under-wood, recognizable only at such a distance by its hue.* Far away beyond they would have caught a glimpse of the fretted coast-line, the broad sands, and the silver sea. The tangled underwoods teemed with game, and the placid meres with fish, and as the fellsides were high enough to be clear of the jungle and marsh fog, and so low as to be free from clouds, the first-comers, from whichever direction they approached, would, we think, hardly pass without leaving a colony of some sort.

We will ask our reader to accompany us, in the character of one of these aborigines, to the summit of Coniston Old Man. At our feet and seven miles away to the east, gleam in sunlight the waters we now call Coniston and Windermere: but otherwise the scene is different from that of to-day. No fair green fields, no larch plantations, no stone walls, and, above all, no smiling villas or grey church towers arrest our view. Wherever we look, the lower ground presents a dusky tinge, which, Reader, we, who, axe and bow in hand, have traversed the country, know to be a tangled and impenetratable growth of scrub and forest, in which can be found the great urus, the wild swine, and even wolves, red deer, and bears.† Through this jungle

* Even as late as the time of the foundation of Furness Abbey the district was called a *forest*; so is it termed in Stephen's own foundation charter.

† Mr. Jno. Watson, in "The Westmorland Natural History Record" (Kendal, 1889), suggests the following dates for the extinction of large animals in these parts:—Brown bear, 500-1000; wild boar, 1620; wolf, 1680; beaver, c. 1100-1200. Macpherson, however, considers the wolf was rare, if not extinct, at end of the thirteenth century.

there are no roads ; it lies evenly over all the low ground, and even clothes the fellsides to a height of five or seven hundred feet above sea-level. The hoary heads of all the great fells to the north and east are clear of it, while between us and Windermere, the lesser heights of Ironkeld, Latterbarrow, Colthouse, Hawkshead Moor, and further south of Bethacar and Finsthwaite rise up bare like islands from the sea of scrub.

On the margins of the three lakes, and along the banks of the rivers and larger streams, a different shade marks where grow gnarled oaks and other ancient forest trees, and the steamy haze which hangs over each lake and valley betokens the marshy character of all the lower ground. Few and far between are, indeed, the signs of human occupation. Here and there—from the base of Latterbarrow—from the shores of Esthwaite—from Hawkshead Moor, rise blue curling wreaths of smoke. The first marks a rude village of wigwams nestling on a hillside above a small tarn. At Esthwaite a few skin-clad fishermen cast their nets ; while the smoke on Hawkshead Moor bears witness of the funeral pyre of a dead warrior. If we turn south we shall see more. Here stretches from the foot of Coniston Old Man a wide range of dreary uplands, to which the scrub does not reach except in patches ; and all this bears signs of human life. Far above it though we are, we can discern rude stone enclosures, within the walls of which are crowded skin-covered wigwams and wattle-built bee-hive huts. Faint streaks denote the walls of the greater enclosures for the protection of cattle from the wild beasts ; and the numerous dark specks are the mounds of the dead. The dark dots which are in motion are of various sizes. Some are cattle and some are tribesmen. Of the latter we can discern in one direction a party making for the low ground, probably to beat the covers or to fish the lake. Others clamber the rocks of Walney Scar in pursuit of the eagle and wild goat ; while a few may be seen driving the nimble fell sheep to the best pastures. Far away beyond, where the range dips towards the sea, the

rising curls of smoke show where lies the great parent settlement on Heathwaite Fell. *

Let us now, still disguised as ancient Britons, make our way to the scene on Hawkshead Moor. It will take us half a day to descend and force our way through the jungle and swamp near Coniston Waterhead and to climb the fellside of Monk Coniston to our destination. But as we toil through the ling to the top, what a strange sight greets us. Half a dozen huts of turf and skins of the most miserable description are erected on the bare fellside facing to the north-east. Close by, on an elevated knoll, blazes a great bonfire of peat and ling, in which the body of the dead chief is being consumed. They have wrapped him in his great tawny wolf-hide, and with his war-club by his side, and his flint knife in his hand, he is going to join his fathers. Round the pyre are grouped his family and a number of tribesmen, chanting their wild death-song, and performing strange funeral rites. A few hours hence, when the pyre has burned out, they will gather the ashes of the dead, dig a rude hole for them in the earth, and pile on the place a great heap of stones to mark the spot.

All this is fiction founded on fact; romance, perhaps, but romance built up and justified by certain early remains found in the parish,† and by the conclusions arrived at by scientific enquirers into the earlier ages in Britain.

Anthropologists, excavators, and antiquaries tell us of certain waves of population which in prehistoric days spread in succession over the face of Britain. Of the earliest of these—the Palæolithic race—there is not, as we have already noticed, any local evidence.

But after them (and how long after, and whether in any way descended from them, no man can tell) we find another race, far advanced in culture, for not only did they form

* Of the archæology of these remains we shall have more to say in Chapter III., but the reader who wishes for a full and technical description must refer to the writer's paper on "The Ancient Settlements and Cemeteries of Furness," printed in the "Archæologia," Vol. 53, p. 389, with numerous plans.

† These will be discussed in Chapter III.

their tools or weapons of stone, but they had the craft of grinding them and polishing them. These people, called by some an Iberian race, by others Silures, Basques, or Mediterranean, were a somewhat puny race, averaging only about five feet four inches in height, with oblong skulls, burying their dead in oblong grave mounds. Upon this people intruded at a subsequent period one or more waves of races of the so-called "Celtic" blood, people of Aryan origin, tall fellows of five feet eight inches on the average, with round capacious skulls, who curiously laid their dead beneath round tumuli. These "bullet-heads," some call Turanians and others Cimbric; and Professor Rhys considers that they arrived in two waves, the Goidels and Brythons. Anyhow, they were an enterprising race, and possessed on their arrival some knowledge of metals, at any rate of bronze: so that before their superior armament the little long-heads with their clumsy stones went to the wall and for some time, at least, lost their identity. They were probably not exterminated, but subjugated and enslaved, and when we find that long-heads and intermediate skulls crop up again towards the end of the round barrow age, and in the earlier iron age, we conclude that the enslaved long-headed race, being numerically superior, was again coming to the front as a result no doubt of inter-marriage and concubinage.

Whether the round-heads appeared too late in the field, or whether their numbers were very small, we hardly know, but certain it is that at this day their bronze weapons and tools are much rarer than those of polished stone. It is thought, however, and with great probability, that though they knew and valued bronze, it was with them a rare and precious possession, and that many of the more elaborated polished stone weapons, and almost certainly the perforated axe-hammers, frequently found in Furness belong to their age. In a future chapter we shall recur to the types and attempt to assign them and other remains to their proper periods.

Probably from a fusion of these races sprang the great

tribe or nation of Brigantes, the dominant race in this quarter of Britain when the Romans arrived. Though occupying an extensive area, spreading indeed over the hills and woods of parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland, and even Northumberland, and containing many sub-tribes, they were far less advanced in civilization than the tribes in South Britain. Some writers consider they were true British aborigines driven by successive invasions into the north; but however this may be, we know that one of their sub-divisions was the tribe of Setantii or Sistuntii, who are supposed to have dwelt about West Lancashire, probably round Morecambe Bay, the hills between Yorkshire and Lancashire, and it is supposed the Lake district. They had their own harbour on the coast, variously fixed by antiquaries, about Lancaster, the mouth of the Wyre, or the mouth of the Ribble.

All that we know of the Brigantes is, of course, from Roman sources, and with the history of the Roman occupation of this part of Britain begins and ends their story. Now, although, like many another rural parish in England, we have no actual evidence that the Romans ever erected port or villa within our boundaries, there can be no doubt whatever that the conquest told its tale here to no inconsiderable degree; and it is well worth our while to consider here the movements of the conquerors in the immediate vicinity of our parish. Although the first invasion of Britain took place half a century prior to our era, it was not until late in the first century that the mountainous region to the north-west was brought under subjection. The Brigantes had suffered in Yorkshire under the hands of Petilius Cerealis (A.D. 69 and 70) a rebuff that probably weakened the entire tribe, and they appear to have remained fairly quiet until the time of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161), when, in consequence of their having attacked the Genuni, a tribe under Roman protection, a punitive expedition was sent against them under Lollius Urbicus, resulting it is believed in their extermination as a tribe of any power.

Ten years, however, after their first reverse, Agricola in his second campaign marched north from Chester, and it has been suggested that, supported probably by a fleet, he executed a remarkable march by the sea-coast from Lancaster to the Solway. In doing so he must have crossed the sands of Kent, Leven and Duddon, and there is some evidence that he established a fort and garrison at Dalton, and possibly also something of the same sort at Broughton-in-Furness. It is unnecessary here to follow him further, except to note that on this line we find a series of Roman stations, one of them placed at Ravenglass, where the Esk, rising in the fells, joins the sea. This over-sands Roman road is more or less an article of faith with Cumberland antiquaries; and knowing the evidence upon which it stands we are certainly much inclined to accept it. Lancashire antiquaries however seem somewhat sceptical, a scepticism due, we venture to think, possibly only to their failing to make themselves properly acquainted with the topography of this outlying part of the Palatinate, and with the adjacent counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, than to more weighty reasons.

Accepting, therefore, the over-sands Roman road, which, if made, was no doubt maintained, it is obvious that such an approach to the stations in the north was not strategically the best for the movement of troops. Consequently we find the more direct route by Kendal, Ambleside, and Keswick to Old Carlisle. This road, later than the coast route, may be, as Chancellor Ferguson has suggested, the tenth Iter of the Antonine "Itinerary." From the Roman station at Ambleside, variously identified as Amboglana, Dictis, Galacum, and Alone, a connecting road was then carried up the Brathay Valley and over the pass of Wrynose to the walled fort at Hardknott, and thence to the camp and port at Ravenglass on the coast. This road would no doubt cross and recross the Brathay by fords at the bends, and so in places pass through parts of our parish: but as no single trace of a made road is to be found, we may

perhaps conclude that the Romans contented themselves with a cleared track rather than an engineered road. That communication was kept open between Ravenglass, Hardknott, and Ambleside, we may however be absolutely certain.

Now in what way would this environment of Roman roads affect Furness Fells. To begin with, we may be sure that the Romans were not the men to overlook such a waterway as Windermere. Communication would be necessary between the stations at Ambleside and Dalton, and for this purpose the lake would be used. Stores, building stone and lime, could be sent from Dalton by the road as far as Conishead, and thence by boat and barge to some point near Greenodd, or even up the Leven almost to Lowwood Bridge,* whence the distance to the foot of the lake is only about four miles. Along the banks of the Leven, where it could not be navigated, the stones would be carried by a pack-animal track, and at the foot of the lake they could be then re-shipped into barges and carried directly to the Ambleside camp. Half-way up the lake, on the great island, they erected a building of some sort, perhaps an outpost at first, which afterwards became a Roman officer's summer residence. †

With such a route, however, Roman genius would not rest content. Although the distance between Ambleside and Dalton is less than twenty-one miles, as the crow flies, yet when one of our stiff south-western winds was blowing, the clumsily rigged vessels at Ambleside would be useless, and to row the heavy barges would be nearly impossible. Again, in the winter months, the lake would be frozen in patches, and at times, neither by hook nor crook would the shivering garrison at Ambleside be able to loosen the ice-bound galleys at Waterhead.

There is fairly strong evidence that for these reasons the Romans constructed a road direct from Ambleside to

* The ore for the Backbarrow Iron Works (founded 1710) was formerly carried by barge from Low Furness to this point.

† Traces of such a building were found in 1774. See the "Lonsdale Magazine," Vol. II., p. 85.

Dalton. Here again we do not think a regularly engineered military road was made, but that they cleared a line through scrub and jungle, bridged here and there where necessary, and, where the soft ground could not be avoided, drained it, and made a causeway, or laid a "corduroy" of felled timber. This would be sufficient to keep open communication, or for marching reliefs when necessary.

The actual evidence of this road we discuss elsewhere. We believe that it ran as directly as possible from Ambleside to Hawkshead, and thence down the Dale Park Valley, and from there by Rusland and Bouth to Penny Bridge. It is important to notice that as early as 1246, deeds call the last-named place "the great ford of Craich which is called Tunwath." From Tunwath the direct line would pass over or round a hill called Castlebank, and close to Broughton (Borgartun) Beck.

These three words—Tun, Borgar, and Castle, indicate certainly that in early mediæval days this point was the principal passage into Furness Fells, and seem to point to earlier structures, probably military, which may well have been utilised by the Norse colonists.*

Although the Roman occupation of the northern part of Britain was essentially military, it would appear that the station at Ambleside became something more than a mere garrison post. Camden has described the ruins in his day as "the carcase of an ancient city with large ruins of walls; and without the walls, the rubbish of old buildings in many places"; and the number of coins and other relics found formerly on the site seems to indicate the development of urban population. Freestone, which must have made its way up from Low Furness by Windermere, has at times been discovered, though little has ever been done by way of scientific exploration at the site.

* The reader should consult Mr. Atkinson's *Coucher Book* for the detailed evidence. In 1246 and 1276 we get "a magno vado de Craich quod dicitur Tunwat . . . et sic usque in Broctunbec," etc. (p. 348 and p. 378); in 1274, three acres between "Brogh-tonhevede et Broghton bec," and "pontem de Crayc." The pons was, we think, a foot-bridge, for as late as 1578 Penny Bridge was Craike Ford (West's "Furness"),

The condition of such British tribes as remained in High Furness during the Roman period must have been the same as that of many savage races whose territory is occupied by a dominant civilized army. Their independence lost, their cohesion broken, and themselves degraded, they sank, no doubt, rapidly to a condition of menial poverty. While some would be introduced into the garrisons as slaves, others preserved a nominal freedom by ministering to the necessities and vices of the conquerors. The tribesmen would bring in skins and game from the forest and fells, for barter and sale, in return for which they would receive iron, metal weapons, trinkets, and intoxicants, which no doubt played havoc with the brains of many a poor mountaineer. A hybrid race would grow up, and as this strange-blooded population increased, houses and shops were erected to accommodate them, for, doubtless, like the Eurasian of British India, they would scorn the barbaric manhood of the conquered, and ape the civilization of the conqueror. We do not think that looking at the frequent raids of the Picts and Scots, the Romans would long have to fear anything from rebellion in these parts, for the Cumbrian Britons would know too well that without the protection of their conquerors their position would be far from enviable. After the first withdrawal of the garrison in 387 by Maximus, it seems pretty certain, from Gildas and other historians, that the condition of the Britons in the vicinity of the wall, subject as they were to the devastating attacks of the northern invaders, was truly miserable; and at their great irruption of 407 it seems far from improbable that they were entirely broken up, and many of the camps wrecked or destroyed.*

Local tradition makes out that under Roman rule the arts of mining copper and smelting iron were introduced into High Furness, but though such a thing is possible, there does not appear to be one grain of proof. Iron smelting, as we shall see, has been at some period extensively carried on in

* See the excellent tabulation of Gildas' account in Skene's "Celtic Scotland," Vol. I., p. 113.

the parish, and the Coniston copper mines are undoubtedly of considerable age; but in face of the complete want of evidence, we hesitate to accept a theory which probably only arises from the instinct common to country folks to ascribe to remote antiquity anything of which they themselves have failed to preserve the real origin. Though the Romans might easily discover the rich veins of ore in Low Furness, it would require a very efficient intelligence department to find and appreciate the value of the copper which lurks in the dark Silurian rocks of the Coniston Fells.

With the Roman evacuation comes a dark period in local history, and the chronicles of British Strathclyde, of which our Cumbria formed the southernmost part, throw such feeble light on local matters that we are not justified in going into them in detail.

North Britain was not like the southern portion of the Province, and the evidence that the natives had to any degree adopted the civilization of their masters is but slight. We may well doubt, indeed, that once the Romans were gone, when the border lay stricken and bleeding from the onslaughts of the Picts, much organisation or order in matters civil or military remained. The Roman camps were in many cases sacked and burned, and the terror-stricken Britons who had escaped massacre seem to have fled from the sites, and reverted to their pristine barbarism. Possibly, when things quieted down a bit, there would collect again round the camps weak colonies of the hybrid half Roman class, who would repair and occupy the houses and military quarters, which, though ruinous, would be superior in accommodation to the rude British hill-dwellings; but such colonies would only be the offscourings and hangers-on of the departed garrison, a class over whom the military authorities had no authority, and in whom they had no confidence. In a generation or so they would become merged in such tribes as remained. That the Roman camp at Ambleside did not retain a permanent population is shown by the fact that, like so many other Cumbrian camps, it was not occupied in the later Teutonic settlements.

The Anglo-Saxon conquest, which commenced almost synchronously with the lapse of Roman authority, never probably affected our parish. We find indeed two place names, Colton and Blelham, having seemingly in their terminal syllables the test words of Saxon and Anglian nomenclature; but, as we shall elsewhere see, the first may well be Norse, and the other a corruption of Blelholme. The Lake hills, in fact, were part of Kymric Strathclyde, which was not seriously menaced for a long while by the new-comers, possibly, we would suggest, as much on account of the rugged and inhospitable character of the country, as because serious opposition was encountered or apprehended.

In 573, however, the Battle of Ardderyd (Arthuret, near Carlisle), fought between two factions of Britons, had the double result of transferring such importance as still remained at Carlisle to Alclyde or Dumbarton, and of concentrating the mission work of Kentigern at Glasgow. Æthelfrith's victory at Chester in 607 extended English territory, perhaps, to the southern side of Morecambe Bay;* while the campaigns of Ecgfrith, the Northumbrian king, seem to have still further shattered any British political organisation which still remained near the border, and drove, perhaps, some of the surviving tribes to the Lake hills. Thus, in Bede's "Life of St. Cuthbert," we find that Ecgfrith, in 677, gave to the Saint the lands of Carthmell (a very Celtic name), with all the Britons in it: and if there were then Britons in Cartmel, it seems probable enough that there were others in the Hawkshead Fells just over the river Leven. It looks, indeed, as if this dying race found a shelter here, protected on the north by the Lake district hills and on the south by the broad sands of Morecambe. Yet, absolutely degenerate as there is only too much evidence that the Cumbrian Britons were, they seem to have lingered in the fells for more than a couple of centuries. The Danes invaded

* It is of course the case that about the middle of the seventh century Deiran territory was considered to extend to the West Sea, and apparently included as far north as the river Derwent, but the Angles never settled the Fells, even south of that river.

England, destroyed Carlisle in 876, and planted settlements on the plains round the hills, and perhaps in Cartmel, where Danish stycas have been found; yet, though in this period we get no contemporary glimpse of Hawkshead, we know that these two centuries were of deep import to all between Solway and Morecambe, for then it was that an actual Christian Church first emerged from the devoted efforts of the earlier missionaries.

Then comes the Norse immigration, and about the same date the final elimination of the Celtic element from the fells. Yet, to what extent the latter is due to the former, or, on the other hand, to the expedition of Edmund, in 945, into Cumberland, and Thored, in 966, into Westmorland, it is not easy now to decide. The actual date of the Norse colonization is not recorded in history, and is not indeed quite certain, and the real reasons for the expeditions depend, as will be seen, somewhat on this date. We will put before our readers views taken by two students of local history at this period:—

“In 945 King Edmund, Athelstane’s successor, wasted Cumbria, overthrew the British King Dunmail, in a battle said to have been fought in the wild pass now called Dunmail Raise; and the King handed over the district to Malcolm of Scotland as a feudal fief of England, although it was not an integral part of England.”*

Mr. Robert Ferguson, in his “Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland,” has advanced the view that the Norwegians, who had sailed round Scotland, having by this time planted settlements on the Irish coast and Man, must have often cast longing glances at the bold hills of Black Combe and Scawfell and the great bay of Morecambe, all of which, to some degree, would remind them of their own grand coastline. Therefore, he suggests that this Norse colonization, unrecorded but not the less certain, took place after this battle, when the native tribes were broken and dispersed.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood, however, takes a slightly different

* R. S. Ferguson’s “History of Cumberland,” 1894.

view, which would relegate the date of the arrival of the first Norse invaders to a somewhat earlier period—the end of the ninth century. For this contention he quotes the *Heimskringla*: “Harald the King speered to wit how Vikings harried the mainland—they who a-winter were beyond the western sea.

. . . Then was it on a summer that Harald the King sailed with his host west over sea. He came first to Shetland. . . . Thence sailed to the Orkneys and cleared them all of Vikings. After that fared he all in the South Isles, and harried there. . . . He fought there many battles, and had always victory. Then harried he Scotland

. . . But when he came west to Man, there they had already speered what harrying he had garred before there in the land. Then fled all folk into Scotland, and the island was unpeopled of men.”

Mr. Collingwood holds that this shows that it was the Ulster Norse in Man who, thus fleeing from Harald, settled first on our coasts. True, the Saga says Scotland; but, as Mr. Collingwood points out, the Cumbrian and Furness coast was Scotland “until Rufus expelled Dolfin from Carlisle.” This would put the first arrivals of the Norse between 870 and 895 A.D. Thus, by the first supposition it was King Edmund’s expedition which laid the country open to the wild Vikings; by the second it was the presence of the new colonists which created the necessity for the expeditions both of King Edmund, in 945, and of Thored of York, in 966. To the English kings, all Northmen were Danes, and all Danes were to be dreaded. The harnessing of a Scandinavian colony was no doubt of far more pressing importance than any punitive expedition against a few starving and isolated British tribesmen.

The results, anyhow, were the total disappearance of the British race in the Lakes. After the Battle of the Raise, local history knows them no more. Some say they fled to Man and Wales, and, if any remained, they were so few in number that they became merged soon in the new race, for they have left but little trace either in dialect or in the physique of the country people.

If the Norse were in the fells when King Edmund came, there is no evidence that they offered him resistance. No doubt their numbers were as yet insufficient, and they wisely avoided an engagement, while the hot-headed Celts seem to have rushed to their own destruction. Yet the Norse stayed where they were, and waxed so in numbers that to this day Furness Fells, in place names, dialect, and even manners and customs, is as deeply impregnated with Scandinavian features as any part of the North. Yet, probably because the district was not then English land, this wonderful colonization remains practically unrecorded by the English chroniclers.

And here comes in a curious piece of confirmatory evidence. Just outside the bounds of our parish there stands an ancient Norse Thingmount or law hill, the character of which is recognised and acknowledged by students of local history; but this we must leave to be discussed in its proper place. The very name of our parish is taken from one of these bold sea-rovers. Haukr, whoever he was, may have beached his long ship at Hammerside, or Hilpsford on Walney, and with his fellows having forced their way through the valley at the head of the lake, cleared a broad "thwaite" at the foot of the fells, and there built a long rambling tenement of timber, and a great hall of the same make with dab and wattle. This he named Haukr-sætr, or Hauksidha, and so sprang into life our Hawkshead. As the Vikings crossed the low Plain of Furness they must have passed the "*hams*" and "*tons*" of the Saxon and Angle settlers; but probably these earlier arrivals did not grudge the new-comers the poor soil of the fells, while the Britons, if Britons there still were, had neither numbers nor leaders to make a stand. So they were allowed to pass in peace, and the pages of their story are now graven in the streams, woods, and clearings, which they named as they settled their new territory.

In the year 1000 Aethelred the King marched into and reduced Cumbria, "at that time," as Henry of Huntingdon says, "a stronghold of the Danes." Possibly his "Danes"

were the Norse, the chronicler using his phrases loosely, as we call too often all Syrians, Egyptians, and North Africans, "Arabs." At this time Cumberland was wasted and pillaged, and the King's fleet made at the same time a descent on Man, the old home of the Norse. But the people in Man are now Celtic, while our daleside men are Scandinavian, so that this expedition, like those that had preceded it, failed altogether in checking the vigour of the Scandinavian colony.

We have been compelled to write thus generally of the history of the North, to bring before our reader the circumstances which stamped so deeply the impress of Scandinavia on our parish as portion of the Cumbrian Fells. It will now be our endeavour to trace as well as we can the history of the place during the period succeeding the Norman conquest: a not too easy task, for the chronicled history of Hawkshead is but slight, partly from its remote and somewhat inaccessible position, and partly because it early became a possession of a great monastery, in the chronicles of which as a member we only occasionally catch a glimpse of our subject.

It is not within our scope to discuss the Domesday survey as it relates to Lancashire North of the Sands. Yet though neither Hawkshead nor any place within our boundaries are mentioned there, and only one or two names that can with any degree of probability be assigned to High Furness, we cannot avoid some mention of it.

Chancellor Ferguson has pointed out, that at the time the survey was made, Cumbria was not England—a very good reason for its not appearing in the survey.* But Cumbria, the land of the few remaining Britons and the Norse settlers, must have included the fells down to the Furness plain, for these are equally ignored. Hougun and Hougenai, names which appear to be preserved in Walney and Walney Scar, occur in the survey, and Dr. Whitaker

* See also "The Pipe Rolls, or Sheriffs' Annual Accounts, of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham," published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1847, p. iv.

has surmised without improbability that the site of the manor of the former has disappeared owing to the subsidence of the coast.

The fact is that the fells were the hinterland, the bush, desert, or what you will, of the occupants of the country, and when the survey was made, no frontier had been defined. But High Furness was within the "sphere of influence" of the Norman race, and in later times, as we shall see, it became necessary to appoint commissions and fix the boundaries, as priest and baron pushed their way into this new country.

But in the survey itself, all Low Furness and certain places in Westmorland appear to be indicated as pertaining to Amounderness, for there is no new heading after that, until the places in Lonsdale North and South of the Sands have been described; and Amounderness, probably as part of Northumbria, is placed in the West Riding of Yorkshire, for Lancashire did not yet exist. Consequently, at that date High Furness was a no-man's-land, inhabited chiefly by Norse, but within the sphere of influence of the Crown as Baron of Amounderness. Now, prior to the Conquest, Earl Tosti, Harold's brother, had had great possessions in various parts of Amounderness, including Hougoun, and most of these were granted by the Conqueror to Roger of Poitou, the first Lord of Lancaster; but upon his banishment these lands returned to the Crown, and in the time of William Rufus, Amounderness was granted to Ivo de Tailbois, the first Baron of Kendal, and for some time from this date the Hawkshead district was no doubt considered parcel of the barony, as its caput being close at hand, a better acquaintance with the fell country would soon be attained. *

* Chancellor Ferguson, in his "History of Cumberland" (p. 71, 74, 115, etc.), and the editor of "The Pipe Rolls, or Sheriffs' Annual Accounts, of Cumberland, Westmorland and Durham" (1847, p. xliii.), allude to the grant of Amounderness to Ivo, or Yvo, but the Lancashire antiquaries and historians do not seem to mention it. For their account of the early grantees of Amounderness, see Baines's "Lancashire" (IV., p. 289), Gregson's "Portfolio of Fragments," 1869 (p. 55), Fishwick's "History of Lancashire" (p. 57), and Whitaker's "Richmondshire" (p. 421). On the contrary, Baines and Fishwick say it was granted to Theobald Walter, *temp.* Henry I. and Stephen. It should be also remarked that Athelstan's grant of Amounderness to York at an earlier period defines the bounds, giving it a much more limited area.

The Honour of Lancaster was, however, given by Henry I. to Stephen of Blois, called Earl of Bologne, who thereby became the second Lord of Lancaster. Stephen, in 1127, founded the monastery of Furness, and with this foundation we enter upon the later mediæval phase of our parish history.

We need not here quote the often printed charter of foundation, but it should be noted that, though the forest of Furness and Walney and Lordship of Furness are all mentioned, no actual boundaries are described. The reason we have seen—no boundaries could be defined because it was intended that the grantees of the Crown, whether barons or monks, might annex all they could of the fells; and any frontier squabbles between their civilized selves they must arrange as best they could. And it was exactly this which happened, for the earliest actual historical mention of any places in High Furness or Hawkshead are to be found in a document which resulted from a dispute between the Abbot and William de Lancaster,* Baron of Kendal, as to their boundaries in the "*Montanæ de Fournéis*" or Furness Fells.

For, just as we might expect, the Abbot and Baron must soon have been "fratching" (as we say in the vernacular) about this very territory; for, in the latter half of the twelfth century, they found it necessary to have a distinct boundary settled. Thirty men, about half from their names Norsemens, and all probably settlers in the plain and retainers of the Abbot and Baron, were sworn in for this purpose; and their decision, ratified afterwards by a Royal charter of Henry II., settled the boundaries of the ancient parish and manor of Hawkshead. In the ratification it is first stated that Furness Fells are thus separated from Kendal:—†

"From where the water descends from Wrynose into Little Langdale, and thence to Elterwater, and from there by Brathay into Windermere, and so by Windermere as far as

* He was at first de Tailboys, and was son of Gilbert, Baron of Kendal. He was the first of the three Williams de Lancaster (see Appendix).

† The date of this confirmation is 1157 or 1163. See Appendix for schedule of deeds about this and other disputes which followed.

the Leven, and so by the Leven even to the sea." Between this line and the river Duddon was the disputed territory. The Abbot then drew a division line from north to south. "From Elterwater by the valley to Tilberthwaite, and from there by Yewdale back to Coniston, and thence to the head of Thurston (Coniston) water, and by the bank of the same water as far as the Crake, and thence to the Leven." The Abbot drew the line, so the Baron made choice. And his choice fell on the side which joined the Abbot's line on the west, *i.e.*, the Coniston and Duddon side, to hold from the Abbot by a yearly rent of twenty shillings, and it was arranged that his son should also do the Abbot homage. The eastern division forming the old chapelry of Hawkshead fell to the latter, except only the sporting rights ("*cervum cervam et ancipitrem*"), which the Baron retained. Thus it is evident that the Baron's share constitutes Furness Fells proper (*i.e.* the fells belonging to Furness Abbey), and that to apply the name to the moors of Coniston and Torver is hardly correct.

Two generations later, yet before the end of the century (1196), we find a sort of sequel to this decision in an exchange effected between Gilbert, son of Roger Fitz Reinfred (who had married Helwyse, daughter of William de Lancaster II., and granddaughter and eventual heiress of the first William), and the Abbot, the Baron relinquishing the hunting rights, and receiving instead certain properties in Ulverston. But soon after, in 1223, William de Lancaster III., son of the last, was summoned by the Abbot to Westminster, and accused among other things of seizing *his fishery of Windermere*. The pleadings and counter pleadings of this impudent charge are given in the Appendix. Each party claimed the right, abused each other roundly, and made accusations of trespass and violence. The verdict found was, that as the charters merely alluded to Windermere as a boundary, the Abbot could have no claim on the fishery, and the Baron was acquitted. Having, however, cleared himself, in 1246 he granted to the Abbot a right to have two fishing boats, each with twenty nets, and two larger boats for carrying goods on Windermere and

Coniston; but in view of the monkish predilections for encroachments, he inserted a careful clause about punishing any servants of the Abbot found poaching. This grant of fishery in no way transferred the lake itself, which became part of the Richmond fee belonging to the Lindesays; and, as a matter of fact, there seems no actual evidence that the Abbot ever exercised the right thus granted. At any rate, at the Dissolution no fishery of Windermere appears among the Abbey's temporalities.*

It is, however, to be noticed that in these boundary treaties of the twelfth century the name of Hawkshead does not occur, partly because it was as yet a place of small importance, and partly because the limits and not the regions enclosed were under discussion. The first actual documentary mention of Hawkshead is about the beginning of the thirteenth century; but before proceeding, we should turn our attention for one moment to the results of the evidence we have.

By the time of the Domesday Survey, *Hauksætr* had probably begun to grow in a sort of way, for the old Northern settler's family would have increased, scrub and forest round the lake head would have been felled, and the younger branches of the stock, finding that better land was not easily to be had near at hand, would build their steadings close to their grandsire's older house, and so in this primitive timber-built hamlet commenced the growth of Hawkshead. It should, however be kept in mind that this was not the only place within the limits of our present parish where this was going on; and we must guard against imagining that Hawkshead at this early period was the only place of habitation, because it eventually gave name to the parish, for this was only an accident. *Rusland* (Rollo's or Hrolf's land), *Finsthwaite* (Finni's clearing), *Arnside* (Arni's hill home). *Haverthwaite* (Oatlands clearing), *Nibthwaite* (the new *bær* thwaite), *Satterthwaite* (the *sætr* in the clearing), *Grisedale* (wild boar valley), *Skelwith* (the shed wood), *Sawrey*, *Oxenpark*, *Hawkshead Hill* and *Outgate* are all places of similar character and origin, though

* See Appendix (Disputes as to Boundaries and Fisheries).

some take their names from their founders, and others from other characteristics ; but owing to its situation in a wide and fertile vale, Hawkshead grew into a town, and gave name to manor and parish, while the other hamlets remained simple clusters of farms—in origin the houses of the first Norse settlers and their progeny, and even in some cases till quite recent times, almost entirely owned and occupied respectively by families bearing one common name.

The first historical mention of the Chapelry of Hawkshead—indeed, of Hawkshead at all—is a curious one. Just about the commencement of the thirteenth century we find the Archdeacon of Richmond giving leave to the Abbot of Furness to celebrate mass with wax candles at the private altars, at a time when the country was under a papal interdict ; and for this purpose he assigned the Chapelry of Hawkshead with one bovate of land and four tofts in Dalton : in other words, the revenues of the Chapelry were to be applied to the purposes of the abbey ritual.

This interdict was perhaps, but not certainly, that in the time of King John in 1208. Now interdicts varied in severity, but even in the less severe ones all masses were forbidden except on great festivals.* But in this particular case we find a curious piece of local evidence bearing on this grant of Hawkshead Chapel to the monks. We have seen already how their boundary line had been determined ; and then the Chapelry (not very old probably at this date) was placed in their hands ; and accordingly, as we may perhaps conclude they would be to some extent compelled to inactivity by the interdict, they took the opportunity of erecting their Manor house at Hawkshead Hall, where a few monks and lay brethren could reside, to attend to both the spiritual and

* There is a great deal of difficulty about dating this grant exactly, the difficulty being that the initial of the Archdeacon is given as "H.," presumably Honorius (who held the post 1198-1200), while the heading commences, "*Idem Archidiaconus,*" which would appear to refer to the Archdeacon mentioned in certain preceding documents, whose initial was "W.," presumably William, who was appointed 1217. There is evidently a blunder on the part of the scribe, but whether in the initial or not it does not seem possible to say. For a full discussion of the difficulty we refer the reader to the original documents in Mr. Atkinson's excellent edition of the *Coucher Book* (Chetham Society, XIV., 646).

civil business of Furness Fells. In support of this we find in the Courthouse at Hawkshead Hall, which we describe elsewhere, some traces of architectural design dating from the thirteenth century.

Soon after (1219-20), we come to some important documents in the Coucher Book* bearing upon the consecration of a burial-ground at Hawkshead. From these we may learn that the population was increasing, and that the chapel had already existed for some time ; long enough, as it is put in one of these instruments, for the evidence of "ancient clerks and laymen" to be called for to settle questions in dispute.

In the first place the inhabitants complained reasonably enough of having to remove their dead to Dalton for burial, a distance of about twenty miles, if we measure from chapel to church. Thereupon it seems the Abbot proposed to separate the Chapelry from Dalton, apparently with the intention of attaching it independently to the monastery. But this proposal elicited opposition from the Vicars of Dalton and Urswick, and an appeal was made to the papal court. In reply, Honorius III. issued a commission appointing the Priors of St. Bees, Lancaster and Cartmel, to enquire into the merits of the case, and to adjudicate thereon. In their decision they state that the Abbot and monks had sufficiently proved by witnesses and deeds that Hawkshead Chapel should be free and is separate (*i.e.*, at a distance) from Dalton Church ; and that the Vicar of Dalton had renounced his appeal in order that a burial-ground might be formed at Hawkshead. Accordingly a papal Bull for a chaplain and cemetery was issued :† yet in spite of this, it does not seem that a formal division was made, for as late as the Dissolution, we find the chapelry styled "parcell of the personage of Dalton." At the same time we find Robert, the parson of Ulverston, abandoning a claim which he had before upheld on the chapelry, but which was proved

* CCCCIX. and CCCCXVII. in the Chetham Society's edition.

† The Bull itself is torn out of the Coucher Book, but an abstract occurs in the "Tabula Sententialis," Chetham Soc., Vol. IX., p. III.

on the testimony of ancient clerks and laymen to have had no foundation. Yet, for some reason, the document chronicling this ends: "Yet the aforesaid Robert shall hold the chapel of Hoxet from the church and parson of Dalton fully and quietly in all things, except bodies (*i.e.*, funerals), which belong to Dalton, all his life, by the acknowledgment of half-a-pound of incense at the feast of St. Michael."

The same century which had witnessed the foundation of Furness Abbey, was that in which Lancashire was formed by joining the Mercian lands between the Ribble and Mersey to the northern hundreds reckoned in the Domesday Survey in the West Riding.* It was also but a short time after the foundation (1138) that one of the most destructive Scottish incursions took place. It is, however, uncertain whether Duncan's son William, nephew also to David, King of Scots, did indeed, with his wild northerners, devastate Furness, although the possessions of the Abbey are expressly noted by some chroniclers as objects of their fury. Mr. Beck, however, has suggested that these were the Craven estates of the monastery;† but other authors hold that Furness itself suffered. Other incursions followed in the time of Edward II.—the first affecting Furness so seriously that a new and reduced taxation was levied on the ecclesiastical property of the district.‡ The second, under the leadership of the Bruce himself, led, it is believed, to the erection, or possibly re-erection, of the Abbey fortress of Piel (or the Pile of Fondrey) on an island near the southernmost point of the promontory.

Thus far, we have heard only of the Chapelry of Hawkshead; but at this time the manorial system was established, and, although there was no Domesday Manor of Hawkshead, there can be no doubt that as soon as the boundaries of the Abbey lands within the fells were ascertained, the district

* Green's "Conquest of England," p. 237 (note), quoting Stubbs' "Constitutional History," Vol. I., p. 129. Baines found the earliest mention of the county, 2 Henry II. (1164), in a Sheriff's Return (Pipe Rolls, Exchequer Office).

† "Annales Furnesienses," p. 125.

‡ "Annales Furnesienses," p. 253.

was at once, as a natural sequence, considered for civil purposes in the light of a manor. This, the original Manor of Hawkshead, or Furness Fells, was conterminate in every way with the Chapelry.* Now every manor had its Caput, which in ordinary cases, was the lord's residence or castle, and whether a fortress or a wooden hall, was the manor place. But at Hawkshead, there was no resident lord, either in pre- or post-conquest times; so that its place was occupied by a modest building, which, with the manor mill, the monks appear to have erected in the thirteenth century, about half-a-mile north of the town, beside a brawling beck.†

It may be useful now to take a glance at the condition of Furness Fells under monastic rule. Hawkshead, a chapelry of some age, as we have seen, as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, and dignified about the same time with a manor place, was the capital, and presented, no doubt, in the fourteenth century, a fair type of a feudal village. Although Abbey tenants, as Scott points out in "The Monastery," possessed great advantages in these restless days over those who owed allegiance to marauding border barons, they were nevertheless liable for military service, although, of course, the calls upon them were less frequent than on their less fortunate brethren beneath the turbulent lay lords. Moreover, they were at least in the eye of the law mere serfs or villeins for the most part, though emancipated at a later date by the indulgence of the abbots. Can we picture to ourselves the little grey hamlet of cottars' huts, all tumbled

* Hawkshead and Colton have now for long been treated as distinct lordships, but it is not at all clear when this originated. The two agreements of 1509 and 1532 (see pages 92, 93) show that even in pre-Reformation times the district was for certain manorial purposes regarded as divided, the division line, "Ravenstie," being now difficult to identify; but later (1585), in the Code of Customs for Hawkshead in Furness Fells, no distinction is made, and the jury is drawn equally from Colton and Hawkshead. Parts of Colton are so continually placed under the heading of Hawkshead in old documents, that it is evident that it was general to treat the two districts as subdivisions of one manor. No distinction is made in the Commissioners' Certificate, or in Abbot Roger's Rental.

† For Hawkshead Hall, see Chapter III. The round hill on which the church stands is remarkably like an Anglian "burh" or moated mound: but neither Angle nor Saxon, we think, ever got here. Possibly, however, this mound was the original site of the Norse settlers' house, replaced later by the church.

and jumbled together (more so even than to-day), mostly one storied, and one or two roomed, half of stone, half of roughly-chopped timber, and roofed, most likely, with ling and rushes rather than with slate; on the hill above, the chapel, a roomy building, probably even then, but low-roofed and dark within? Above all, can we call up to mind the grim gibbet (true emblem of mediævalism), standing out black and clear on the hill half-way between the town and hall, which men still call Gallowbarrow? South of the town, and extending some distance along the margin of Esthwaite Lake lay the common fields which the tenants tilled for their own wants and also for the Abbey, and the grain from which would be carried to be ground at the manor mill. These fields would originally be divided into narrow parallel strips, of an acre each, divided by unploughed divisions or balks. But these balks have long since disappeared, the holdings have been amalgamated, and the name of Hawkshead field, and the parallelism of the stone walls, alone remain as evidence of this ancient form of agriculture.

But the inhabitants of the fells were no doubt always, as at the present day, shepherds rather than agriculturists. The corn lands round the vill were scanty: sufficient, indeed, in good years for their own wants, but liable, no doubt, to give short supplies in bad seasons. The early dalesmen would occupy the original thwaites or clearings made by the first Norse settler, but these would have by the fourteenth century been extended. The slopes of the hillsides were still covered with ancient timber, but the fell tops were clear, and thither the tenants drove their flocks of herdwick sheep. It was the face of the country which dictated the sites of our picturesque fell-side farms, for the people of High Furness have never, and will never, draw together into centres of any size for this reason. Villeins, though they were held, and nominally bound in a servile tenure, the life of the dalesman of old, was, compared with that of the tenants of a midland manor, probably much superior. Fresh and sweet air he always breathed, and his diet of mountain

mutton, cheese, milk, and oatmeal porridge, was one from which a race of Titans ought to spring.

The customary tenants, then, of the Hawkshead Manor, although sprung from the race of the free Norse rovers, and curbed by the far-reaching spread of English feudalism, were not ill off. The numerous advantages they gained as Abbey tenants amply compensated for the withdrawal of a certain amount of liberty, and the better settlement of the territory itself under monastic rule, coupled with the encouragement given by their lord to agriculture and industry, may well have rendered their position one of envy among the tenants of the adjacent baronies. Yet even in Furness Fells, such was the lawlessness of the age that outlaws were not unknown. Mr. W. G. Collingwood has noted in his "Book of Coniston," that Adam of Beaumont and his brother, and Will Lockwood, Lacy Dawson and Haigh fled here after slaying Sir John Elland, in revenge for the murder of Sir Robert Beaumont.

"In Furness Fells long time they were
Boasting of their misdeed,
In more mischief contriving there
How they might yet proceed." *

This was in 1346, and here they stayed, a band of robbers, till 1363 or later.

But there were other industries and occupations which employed the inhabitants of the parish besides agriculture and herding. In Stephen's original charter of foundation, Furness is termed a forest, a designation, probably, especially applicable to Furness Fells, where the valleys are still thickly grown with coppice: it was on account of the wooded character of this district that the industry of iron smelting was introduced—an industry of which we shall have much to say further on. We do not indeed know at what period charcoal smelting was commenced in Furness Fells, but the bloomeries or heaps of smelted slag are numerous, and frequently reveal a site when no other

* "The Book of Coniston," p. 65, referring to Whitaker's "Loidis and Elmete," 1816, Vol. II., p. 396.

evidence, historical or otherwise, is forthcoming. Though these bloomeries are probably of various dates, it is known that during the days of the monastic rule the industry was one of the sources of revenue of the Abbot of Furness. The fact is, that the ore which was mined in the rich iron country of Low Furness was conveyed to the Fells, partly by pack-horse, and partly, no doubt, by the waterways of Coniston and Windermere, because the plentiful supply of wood fuel rendered it worth while. After the Reformation these forges were suppressed at the request of the inhabitants, because they were so destructive to the woods, the croppings of which were required for their cattle.

We have seen also that fishery in Windermere and Coniston was granted to the Abbey in 1246; and perhaps the netting of fresh water fish for the Abbey would, for a short time, form a not unimportant industry in the fells. But the Windermere right was apparently soon abandoned, and so also probably that on Coniston, for in the Commissioners' Certificate of the revenues of the Abbey taken in 1537, we find only enumerated Blalam Terne (Blelham) and Haverthwaite and Finsthwaite,* and the "thyrd Estwater" (Esthwaite), which were "always reserved for the'xpence of the said late monastery," and of these the Haverthwaite fishery was by far the most valuable. It would seem by this that a third part of the whole take in Esthwaite went to the refectory tables at the Abbey, and also the products of Blelham, the Leven at Haverthwaite and the tarns in Finsthwaite. Priest Pot at the head of Hawkshead, was, no doubt, a private fish-pond for the Hall, and the remaining streams and becks might be fished by the tenants for themselves.

In the same way huntsmen and hawkers would be maintained in the fells to supply the Abbey tables with game. This had indeed become the right of the monastery by the

* The Finsthwaite fishery is, in the "Decree for Abolishing the bloomsmithies" called Dulas, a name not now known. It was probably Bortree Tarn.

exchange, in 1196, with Gilbert, son of Roger FitzReinfred, and this was confirmed by Edward III. (1337), who granted free warren to the Abbot in all their demesne lands in Lancaster, Yorkshire, and Cumberland.* The buck, doe and falcon mentioned in the early charters, give us some clue as to the most prized sorts of game. The first two were probably the red deer, and the falcon (*ancipiter*) must refer to a breed which they domesticated and trained for hawking—possibly similar to the valuable Manx species. The wolf and wild pig must have still abounded; and, amongst winged game, the red grouse, herons, and various sorts of water fowl, now scarce, though not extinct.

We can find traces, too, of the land tenure in pre-Reformation days in many of the farm names.

The most important of these is the word "Park," which is common in Furness Fells, and signifies nothing more than an enclosure of fell or woodland. Some writers state that an abbot, in the time of Edward I., obtained license from the King to enclose large tracts in Furness Fells, but we can find no authority for this; but in the Coucher Book there is a license from the third Edward (1338) for parks to be made at Clayf, Furness Fells, and other places.† These parks, however, were mere enclosures, although it appears that, in 1516, Abbot Banke made a real deer park, five miles in circumference, in Grisedale, which we have already suggested was, most probably, the valley known as Dale Park at the present day; and we have no record of any other park having ever been formed for the same purpose.

Less extensive in size than the "Parks," but much more numerous, are the holdings called "Ground," which are found in many parts of the fells, but principally in the northern

* In the grant in the Coucher Book, No. LXIII., is a schedule of the places, those in Hawkshead Chapelry being put first. They are—Haukeshed, Sourer (Sawrey), Clayf, Graythwait, Satherthwait, Grisedale, Finnesthwait, Haverthwait, Rolesland (Rusland), Bouthe, Colton, Neburthwaite (Nibthwaite), Kunyngeston (Monk Coniston).

† The principal parks are Oxen, Hell, Stot, Dale, Elterwater, Waterside, Lawson or Lowson, and Robert Banke Parks, also Park-a-moor. All these are enumerated in Abbot Roger's Rental (Beck's "Annales Furnesienses," p. 329), among the granges of Furness Fells. There are also Hawkshead Hall Parks.

part. In these farms we have in every case a family name affixed, as Sawrey-Ground and Thompson-Ground. So common are they that we find no less than fifty-three names of this sort, of which thirty-six are in Furness; and the list is probably not complete.* In almost every case these farms are upon what was formerly Abbey land, and it is generally believed that in every case we have the record of the enclosure of a piece of land to a farm by a tenant of the Abbey. The origin of these "grounds" seems to have been, however, as late as the sixteenth century. At that date monastic rule was tottering, and in the period of confusion which heralded the impending Reformation the management of secular affairs became lax, and the tenants of Furness Fells and Hawkshead took advantage of the condition of affairs, and made greater enclosures to their farms than they had a right to. Accordingly, two agreements were made, one between the Abbot and convent and the tenants of Furness Fells (1509), and the other between the same authorities and the tenants of Hawkshead (1532). These two documents, which have been printed by Beck and West,* are almost identical in terms. They set forth that the Abbot and convent "have found them greved with their tenants . . . for soe much as the saide tenants haith enclosed common of pastur more largelie than they aughte to doe, under the colour of one bargaine called Bounden of the Pastur." And that it was now agreed as follows:—

"Every vj^s $viiij^d$ yerlie rente, which payeth $iiij^d$ for boundery ("bounding" in the other agreement) shall have one acre and halfe of such ground as haith been of common pasture within tyme of man's mynde; and those tenants that haith more then $iiij^d$ for vj $viiij^d$ of yerelie rent, to have there improvements more largelic, and those that payeth less then $iiij$ to have their improvements thereafter." On their side the tenants undertook not to improve beyond these limits,

* The list (made by the writer) has been printed in the "Westmorland Note Book," Vol. I., p. 143, Kendal, 1888-9.

* West's "Antiquities of Furness," 1774, p. 154; Beck's "Annales Furnesienses," pp. 303, 313.

to fence in their enclosures, and that such as exceeded the limits of their agreement should forfeit their tenant-right. The Furness Fells agreement is signed at Colton by the Abbot, four monks, and twenty-two tenants; while that of Hawkshead is signed at Hawkeshall (Hawkshead Hall) by the Abbot, six monks, and forty-five tenants.*

It was probably when these acre-and-a-half allotments were sanctioned that the dalesmen dignified their holdings with the name of "ground," and this concession on the part of their feudal lords was as important a step in the progress of the emancipation of the Furness 'statesman as it is a feature in the place-names of to-day.

It will be seen by the reader that the material relating to our chapelry in pre-Reformation times is anything but abundant. Documents relating to the parish are rare, and very little is chronicled of purely local interest. The fells formed but a member of the Abbey estates, and the Abbey itself was somewhat distant, and was itself the centre of local history. Moreover, in Hawkshead there was no territorial family under the Abbey, so that there are no grants or charters on record. There was as yet no market, so that, although as a portion of the Abbey land the Manor was of great value, there is little recorded of the life of the inhabitants. Here and there are glimpses indeed of transactions of one sort or another, but as a rule they are unimportant, and nearly always just before the Dissolution. A lease of Hawkshead Hall, in 1513, to one Robert Dowlyng, is given by Beck,† and in 1531 (22 Henry VIII.) information was laid by one William Tunstall against Abbot Banke—the same bad abbot who had imparked at Grisedale. One of Tunstall's

* In the signatures of the tenants we find the names of the principal families of the period. At Hawkshead we have ten Braithwaites, five Satterthwaites, two Holmes, two Pennys, three Riggess, two Kirkbys, and two Tomlinsons. In Colton—four Rawlinsons, three Robinsons, four Dodgsons, two Taylors, etc. There is a record of another visit of the Abbot to Hawkshead Hall in 1520-1 in the "Pleadings and Depositions in the Duchy Court of Lancaster" (Record Soc., Vol. II., p. 93, *et seq.*). The Abbot of Furness *v.* Christopher Bardesay. A witness, Thomas Richardson, deposes that in that year he offered 66s. 8d. to the Abbot, who was at a court at Hawkshead, being a moiety of the rent of a tithe barn, etc., at Bardsey, which was in dispute.

† "Annales Furnesienses," p. 304.

charges was that the abbot had levied an illegal tax on his poor tenants "dwellyng nye Colton Chapelle in Furness," and the abbot's reply was a denial. There is no record of proceedings having been taken on this and the accompanying charges, and the chief interest is that it proves the existence of a pre-Reformation chapelry at Colton.*

The most important information we have, however, is to be found in the Rental of Abbot Roger, which, as well as the Certificate of the revenues of Furness Abbey, by the Commissioners of Henry VIII., 1537, has been printed by Beck.†

By analysing the data in these documents, we arrive at the following facts:—

The total income of the Convent, according to Abbot Roger's rental, is £945 odd; and if we pick out all the items of Furness Fells, we find that this district contributed to that amount no less than £240 8s. 8d. This was made up as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Fisheries	3	9	0
Hawkshead Hall	2	0	0
Furness Fells Granges	102	14	2
Villanorum	44	15	6
The Chapel, with its tithes, etc.	87	10	0
	<hr/> £240 8 8 <hr/>		

The Commissioners' certificate of 1537 is a little different.

Fisheries	4	18	8
Lands and Tenements	157	18	10
Herdwicks and Shepecots	39	13	4
Chapel, tithes, etc.	90	0	0
	<hr/> £292 10 10 ‡ <hr/>		

* "Duchy Office Pleadings," Vol. VI., R. 1, quoted by Beck in "Annales Furnesienses," p. 312.

† For the first, p. 325, and for the last, Appendix No. VI.

‡ To this, the Commissioners add—

	£	s.	d.
Mills (four)	5	7	8
Rent of Ironworks	20	0	0
Woodland industries	13	6	8

It is therefore evident that these three items were not let out by the Convent, though all three were certainly in operation.

Again, we can compare the value of Hawkshead Chapelry with those of the mother church of Dalton and the ancient parish of Urswick, and in doing so, we find that though but a chapelry under the former, it was between two and three times its value, and four times as much as that of the last named. We find also that while in the entire rental only 164 stone of wool is mentioned, 80 stone of this is from our Chapelry.

A somewhat peculiar point in the first named document may be noticed in examining the rentals of the farms in the fells. The largest batch is headed "Fournes felles," and at the end of it in giving the total these are styled "granges."

These "granges" occupy the entire district except what formed afterwards the townships of Hawkshead and Fieldhead, and Monk Coniston and Skelwith, the north and north-west extremities of the parish. The latter are given separately under the heading "Rentale Villanorum ibidem," and include the following items: Brathay, Skelwith, Waterhead and Coniston, Hill and Fieldhead, Hawkshead field, and Sotter parke.*

We cannot decide now what was the distinction between these granges and the farms of the *villani*. It is chiefly in this northern part of the parish where we find the "grounds," which were taken in by the tenants in 1532, and it is abundantly evident that at that date they were not feudal serfs of the kind that "*villanus*" originally signified. Possibly, and perhaps probably, the explanation is that the "*villani*" were the farmers of the corn and pasture lands, while the granges were nearly entirely devoted to sheep runs. Possibly, also, the "*villani*" of these named places were originally under the direct superintendence of the lay brethren at Hawkshead Hall, and the name of "*villanus*" remained till the sixteenth century. In the Commissioners' certificate a different division is made, *i.e.*, into "lands and tenements," and "herdwysks and shepecots"; but the latter are only three in number, Waterside, Lawson Park, and Parkamoor.

* We cannot locate the last. West gives Stot Park, but this is amongst the granges; so also is Satterthwaite. It may, however, be Satterhow at Far Sawrey.

As the mills, ironworks, and woodland industries (all valued by the Commissioners) do not enter into the rental, we see that all these were kept in the hands of the convent for supplying their own wants. Of these we shall have something to say in the chapter on industries, but we may notice here that the corn mill at Hawkshead was considered worth £4, while those at Beckmyll, Satterthwaite, and Cunsey were only worth in all £1 4s. 8d. We see, also, that for civil purposes the Manor was divided into seven bailiwicks, namely, Colton, Nibthwaite, Finsthwaite, Claife, Graythwaite, Hawkshead and Brathay, and Grisedale, to each of which was appointed from amongst the best to do of the inhabitants a bailiff, each of whom received yearly sixteen shillings, except the bailiff of Hawkshead and Brathay, who received £1 8s. 6d. What the duties of these officers were, we see from the Commissioners' certificate.

"vii partieler Baylyes in ffurneys fells whiche kepe the woodes ther, gather the stretts³ and amercyaments and geve warning to the Tenaunts to appere at the Courts and to paye their rentes to the Receyvours cij^s viij^d."

We need hardly be surprised, considering the value of the district, that just before the Reformation the Chapelry actually attracted the envious glances of the Crown. Mr. Beck has printed in the "*Annales Furnesienses*" a letter from Abbot Roger, which shows that the king had condescended to demand of him the presentation. In this letter, which is addressed to Cromwell, Roger Pele sticks at neither adulation, nor even at bribes, for he sends him "ten Ryalles for one token," and, complaining that the king has desired him to send "our letters of presentacione under our convent sealle," he invokes Cromwell's intervention, arguing that Hawkshead never was "ony personage or beneficc, bott of long tyme haithe been one chapelle of case within the perochene of Dalton"; further, that in consequence of its distance from the mother church, license had been given to celebrate sacraments within the

* Query "escheats"—reversion of an estate to the lord on a tenant dying without heirs, or upon his committing treason or felony.

chapel; and "if it shulde fortune that ony suche presentacione be had to the seid Hawkeshed, both I and my bretheren be utterly undone, and thereby shulde be compelled to leve of such power hospytalite as we have heretofore kept in the seid monastery."

On the 9th of February, 1537, Roger Pele, the Abbot, Briand Garnor, the Prior, and twenty-eight monks surrendered the Abbey to Henry VIII. From that date till 1662, the Liberty and Lordship of Furness, including the Manor of Hawkshead, remained in the Crown, when they were granted to the Duke of Albemarle, from whom they have descended to the present Duke of Buccleuch.

In a parish like Hawkshead, the nursling of a great monastery, the Reformation necessarily makes a complete change in the scene. The old actors in the local drama are swept away, and new ones appear. Before, we could but dip into the stream of history of the great parent house, and catch here and there at the shreds of information as best we might. But now the valleys waken to a life of their own: folks must think and fend for themselves; new routes and new centres are formed to the wants of the local community and our little stage becomes crowded with actors, each eager to play his part. But the more matter we have to deal with, the greater the necessity of marshalling our facts so that they may be lucid and consecutive. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are so recent that to rush blindly into an account of them would be only to bewilder our readers with an undigested mass of parochial detail, development of trade and industry, progress of religion and dissent, many of which we would prefer to treat separately. We will, therefore, attempt to keep as straitly as we may to the historical side, showing as best we can the bare outlines, which elsewhere we attempt to fill up in detail.

The Reformation must have been a great blow to all the ecclesiastical districts, and trade and agriculture throughout Furness was probably paralyzed for the moment. The Abbey, indeed, was the market for all the produce of the fells.

Mountain mutton, wool (raw and spun), smelted iron, crates of trout, and, perhaps, char—all were conveyed, we may feel sure, by pack-horse and barge to supply the wants of the Abbey, or of the town of Dalton, which had grown up under her wing. Grain was supplied chiefly by the tenants of Low Furness, for it is doubtful if the hill-men grew much more corn than was sufficient for themselves.* Thus, as their old market had gone so their life changed, and new outlets for their produce must be found. As Dalton fell to decay, Ulverston rose to importance, which helped Hawkshead, as Ulverston wanted mutton and wool like the Abbey, and access was handier than to Dalton. Kendal was becoming the great centre of the weaving industry, and its traders wanted the fleeces from the "herdwyks and shepecots" of Furness, so that Hawkshead became a wool market. But the inhabitants did not content themselves with selling wool and home-spun yarn, but they started weaving themselves, and set up their looms; and though throughout the length and breadth of the parish no single loom remains to-day, we have but to question old folks to hear where they were still to be seen in the days of their youth.

In pre-Reformation times the convent had had one to three iron charcoal smelting forges in operation in Furness Fells,† and these were let on behalf of the Crown to William Sandys and John Sawrey for £20, who no doubt counted upon the sale of smelted and forged metal to the tenants on the Abbey estates. But the tenants most reasonably objected to buying from a private firm that which in the old days had, no doubt, been allowed freely to them by their feudal lords in consideration of their services. Accordingly, they complained to the Crown, with the result that in 1564 a decree was issued abolishing the bloomsmithies because of the destruction of the woods, which were required for the flocks of Furness Fells. The tenants, moreover, agreed to

* We have, however, already discussed the difficult question whether the "villani" were not occupiers of grazing and corn farms.

† Commissioners' Report, 1537.

make good to the Crown the £20 which was thus lost, but they were permitted to smelt iron themselves for their own use.*

We see here, also, that the dalesmen were now alive to the fact that their livelihood was dependent chiefly upon their flocks of herdwick sheep, and their fleeces; and they saw plainly that they must make a stand against anything which might injure in any way this rising industry. It is, indeed, probable that they were at this time, or at any rate shortly after, considering the possibilities of getting Hawkshead an authorized market; for the advantages of a central dépôt of their own, which would be easily accessible for the inhabitants of Ambleside, Kendal, Ulverston, and Dalton, must have become very evident.

Their plans were consummated in the reign of James I., when letters patent were granted for a weekly Monday market, and two yearly fairs to be held at Hawkshead, the first to be held on the Feast Day of St. Matthew, and the day following,† and the other on the Feast of the Ascension and the day following, with all tolls, customs, privileges, and free customs, belonging to such fairs and markets, with a pie powder court, etc., for the relief of the poor of Hawkshead. For these privileges, Hawkshead was indebted to Adam Sandys, one of the family of Graythwaite, to whom the town owes so much.

Now let us glance for a moment at the condition of the tenants of the Manor. The tenure in Furness Fells is neither freehold nor copyhold, but what is called customary, a kind of tenure that is also found in Cumberland and Westmorland, where, however, it varies somewhat in detail from that of Hawkshead. Now in origin, these customary tenants were, as we can see by the foundation charter of Stephen, regarded as villeins, completely at the will of the lord; yet in process of time this tenure became very little

* For full details see Chapter V.

† Not Matthias as in West; the original Charter is believed to be at Graythwaite, but we have never been able to see it; and the exact year has never been recorded; but see Chapter V.

inferior to a freehold; although this was only accomplished by gradual steps. To begin with, the proximity of the Scottish border to these Northern counties necessitated a regular defensive arrangement among the lords, whether lay or ecclesiastical, and in order to effect this, every barony fee, or lordship, was bound to provide so many armed and unarmed men for Military service. And because, as a rule, each tenement or holding was expected to send one man-at-arms, it was necessary to take precautions that the tenements should not be divided or alienated by caprice or by will of the tenant; so that it became in most parts the ordained rule that such estates were to pass undivided from father to son in the same family. This established gradually the position of the tenant, who, as a 'statesman, in course of time found himself in complete possession of an estate equal in most points to a regular freehold.

But this was not done all at once—the grub passes the chrysalis state before he becomes the moth, and the tenant did not bloom all at once into the 'statesman.

The fact is, that after the Dissolution the tenants must have found themselves in a very uncertain position. Under the mild rule of the Abbey they had little to dread, even if they had not much to expect. But the Act which abolished the Abbey placed them directly under the Throne, and upon that throne sat Henry VIII. How were they to judge what was next to happen, and whether it would be good or ill?

Amongst the Muster-rolls we get some details as to how these armed men were portioned out in the various districts of High Furness. In the General Muster-roll of 1553 we find—

Ballewicke of Hawkeshead	...	...	xvij.
" Nybthwaite	...	...	vij.
" Grisdale	...	...	vij.
" Gythwt	...	...	x.
" Claife	...	...	vij.

In all, forty-nine men;* and in the decree for abolishing the

* Harl. MS. 2219; but Baines, in "History of Lancashire" (I., 506), quoting another MS., gives also Colton 8, making in all 57 men.

bloomsmithies (1564) the tenants are ordered to "furnish, and have in readiness, when they shall be thereunto required forty able men, horsed, harnised, and weaponed, according to their ability, by statute of armoury, and horses, meet to serve in the war, against the enemies of her queen's majestie, her heirs and successors, for the defence of the haven and castle, called the Peel of Foudray, or otherwise upon that coast, without allowance of wages, coat, or conduct money; or elsewhere, as need shall require, and shall be thereunto commanded and appointed, out of the realme, having allowance of coat, conduct money, and wages as inland men have."

And again, in the Muster of 1608, we get a more detailed account :—

			Bills.	Archers.	Shott.	Muskett.	Pyke.	Unfur.
Hawkesheade	...	...	11	1	0	0	0	84
Graythwaite	...	...	10	2	1	0	0	67
Hawkes- heade	{ Nibthwaite baliffe ...		5	0	1	0	0	33
	{ Haverthwaite baliffe...		3	0	1	0	0	70
	{ Coulton baliffe ...		4	0	0	0	0	60

Or a total of thirty-nine armed men and three hundred and fourteen unarmed.* Now in the Abbot's rental and Commissioners' certificate we find a list of forty-six farms and hamlets with their rentals, so that we may conclude that for the most part each one of these supplied one man-at-arms.† The fact is that most of these hamlets had grown up gradually from a single tenement, some founded in the old Viking days, and some later, but all in the same manner. Sons and sons' sons had built their houses by the parent homestead, and so many of these hamlets presented a type of the patriarchal system, inhabited almost entirely by people of the same name and blood, united by the same interests, following the same employments, and owing suit and service at the same court.

* Harl. MS., 2219.

† So we get in "Flodden Field":—

"From Silverdale to Kent Sandside,
Whose soil is sown with cockle-shells,
From Cartmel eke to Connyside
With fellows fierce from Furness Fells."

The truth is, that although the Norman barons and prelates, to whom these Northern settlers were originally apportioned, chose to regard them as feudal serfs, our dalesmen never surrendered completely the free man's pride they had brought with them from the North; and the unsettled condition of these parts of England fitting well with their habits, there grew up this military tenure, out of which evolved the 'statesman and the modern customary estates.

The copyholders and customary tenants of plain Furness had a battle to fight with the Attorney-General Brograve, which resulted in a victory for them in the twenty-fifth year of Elizabeth's reign, upon which their rights became properly established;* and the tenants of the Crown manors of Westmorland and Cumberland had a far more important struggle with James the First, which was not finally settled till about 1626, ending fortunately in the interests of justice in a confirmation of their rights.†

But Furness Fells and Hawkshead managed more fortunately, for they were implicated in neither dispute; and although West tells us that, immediately after the Reformation, "frequent commissions had been issued to settle the affairs of Furness, and particularly of the customary tenants," it remained till the twenty-seventh year of Elizabeth's reign (1585) for a proper code of customs and bye-laws to be drawn up by the tenants of the Manor, which was approved and recorded in the following year (1586).

This code has been printed in full by West,‡ and as we shall have occasion to analyse it somewhat carefully elsewhere, we need do no more than briefly notice it here. The list of the jury who drew up the code was drawn impartially from all parts of the parish, and contains the local

* See West's "Antiquities of Furness," 1774, p. 123 *et seq.*

† See Ferguson's "History of Westmorland," p. 125 *et seq.*; a paper by Mr. Geo. Gatey, "How Customary Tenure was Established in Westmorland" in "Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Association of Literature and Science," No. XI.; and Elton's "Custom and Tenant Right," 1882, pp. 32-40.

‡ Page 157 *et seq.* A copy, in the handwriting of the period, is at Graythwaite Low Hall. It differs only in immaterial points from West's version, and in that the names of the jury are somewhat differently spelled.

names of Sandys (of Graythwaite), Nicholson (of Hawkshead Hall), Benson (of Skelwith), Brayethwaite (Brathwaite of Sawrey ?), Rigge, Holme, Wilson, Sawrey (Sawrey), Dodgson, Taylor (of Finsthwaite), Rawlinson (of Graythwaite), Pennington, Hirdson, and Redhead. The code itself consists of two parts: first, the verdict for the Queen, containing chiefly the forfeits or fines incurred by tenants for breaking the manorial customs or for other defaults; and, secondly, the verdict for the tenants, setting forth their rights as to alienation of property, and the regulation of the descent and division of tenements, and charges upon estates.

So it came about that by the end of the sixteenth century the 'statesmen of Furness Fells found themselves in a position to have everything their own way. There was no resident Lord of the Manor, no Squire, even gentle families were few and far between, and the line of demarcation between them and the better-to-do yeomen was hard to discern. Graythwaite boasted two such families—those of Sandys and Rawlinson, and at Hawkshead Hall lived the Nicholsons, a collateral branch of whom were merchants at Newcastle.* All other residents were 'statesmen, greater or less, though among them there were numerous sub-branches of gentle families within and without the parish.

This period—the end of the sixteenth century—was an eventful one in the annals of Hawkshead. The Reformation had shattered the ancient systems to their foundation; it had changed the life of the people and paralyzed its trade, and dealt, it might have appeared to some, a death-blow to both industry and education. But this was not really so, for the Furness folks grasped soon at their new freedom, which, as we have just seen, was not long in receiving royal confirmation. And this was not all. Blindfold as the people had walked under the blighting rule of Monasticism,

* The Nicholsons owned the tithe, or part of it, at one time, but how they got possession of the Manor House I have not ascertained. For their pedigree and earlier lessees of Hawkshead Hall, see the present writer's paper in "*Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*," Vol. XI., and this work, Chapters VII. and VIII.

the time had come when another step was to be taken—the first rung on the ladder of civilization; for, during the time of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, there dawned on the moors of Westmorland and its neighbourhood the sun of education. This tendency towards the advancement of knowledge was evinced by the foundation of grammar schools, in which might be learned the elements of the classic tongues. Rapidly the fashion spread, and Mr. Hodgson, in his “Description of the County of Westmorland,” writes:—

“Before the conclusion of the seventeenth century, seminaries of this kind were commenced in every parish, and almost in every considerable village in Westmorland; and education to learned professions, especially to the pulpit, continued the favourite method of the Westmorland yeomanry of bringing up their younger sons till about the year 1760, when commerce became the high road to wealth, and Greek and Latin began reluctantly and by slow gradation to give way to an education consisting chiefly of reading, writing, and arithmetic.”

In this movement our little town was not behindhand, for in the twenty-seventh year of Queen Elizabeth (1585) Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York—sprung from the Graythwaite family, and himself probably a native of the parish—obtained letters patent for a grammar school to be established at Hawkshead. The foundation charters and statutes, which are dated three years later, show us what was considered a good education in these days. We note that the education was to consist of “Gramm^r, and the Pryncyples of the Greeke tongue, wth other Scyensses necessarie to be taughte in a gramm^r schole,” and that nothing was to be charged for these advantages. We see also what long, hard hours of work were considered necessary, for between the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Michael the Archangel it was ordered that work on every work day should commence “at six of the Clock in the Morninge, or at the furthest within one halfe houre after, and soe to contynewe until Eleven of the Clocke in the forenoone, and to begyne

agayne at One of the Clocke in the afternoone, and so continewe, untill ffive of the Clocke at Nighte." And, between Michaelmas and the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the hours were from seven or half-past seven till eleven in the morning, and then from half-past twelve till four in the afternoon. Special prayers were composed to be read before and after work: and before sitting down to dinner the scholars were to "Sing a Psalme in Meter in the said Schole." Holidays were but few and far between. The first was from a week before Christmas to the next working day after the twelfth day of Christmas; and the other was a fortnight at Easter. Also it was ordained that at the breaking-up time "The chieffeste Schollars of the said Schole shall make Oracons, Epistles, verses in Latyne, or Greeke . . . that therbie the said Scholemaster maie see how the said schollars have pfyted." Provision was made to keep the wilder spirits in bounds, for we read that, "Alsoe they shall use noe weapons in the schole as sworde, dagger, waster, or other lyke to fighte, or brawle withal, nor any unlawfull gamming in the schole. They shall not haunt Tavernes, Aylehowses, or playinge at anie unlawfull games, as Cardes, Dyce, Tables or such lyke." *

Thus we see that, by the pious act of the good Archbishop, the path to knowledge was first laid open to the ignorant dalesmen and inhabitants of this retired corner of Lancashire. During the seventeenth, and great part of the eighteenth centuries, the school flourished, for those were the days when the classic tongues were esteemed, and "good mercantile educations" were unknown. The old monkish tradition of reading and writing in Latin was not yet extinct. Rome yet lived in a way, even here in the far north. Boys scribbled in Latin on the first page of their task books; parsons kept their parish registers in Latin; even auctioneers' sale schedules were partly made out in the same tongue. To patter Latin was in the vernacular "collership," and the father whose son possessed this accomplishment was

* See Chapter X. for the Statutes in full.

a proud and happy man. But the system came too late, for it came just before that great trade stimulus which was to stir the British people from north to south, and by which England was destined to climb to that mercantile supremacy which she now holds, or which, must it be said, she has hitherto held. For this new life the dead tongues were not wanted, and so Hawkshead and other grammar schools founded on similar principles, lost, to a large extent, the reputations they had won, and were ultimately compelled to seek re-organisation on newer and more modern principles.

Now let us turn to the parish itself. We have seen already that the formal Papal decision in favour of the separation of the Chapelry from the mother church of Dalton, in the thirteenth century, was never, for some unexplained reason, really made absolute; and that in more than one document at the time of the Reformation, Hawkshead is still referred to as a chapelry under Dalton. We have shown also its origin as the Abbot's share, when the boundaries were laid out between the Monastery's estates and those of the Baron of Kendal. The Chapelry was, as a natural sequence, conterminat in every direction with the joint lordships, including, therefore, the whole of the old parish of Hawkshead and the present parish of Colton, which fills up the triangle between the foot of Coniston Lake and Windermere, and has its apex at the junction of the Crake and Leven at Greenodd.

Hawkshead played a small part in the futile rising of 1537 called the "Holy Pilgrimage," or the "Pilgrimage of Grace," which followed the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, being no doubt fomented by many of the lately dispossessed clergy. As the history of this rising can be found in numerous works, and as the local connection with it has been treated at length already in two local books, the briefest mention only is required here.* The leader of the revolt, in which forty thousand took part, was one Robert Aske, by some called a gentleman of

* Clarke's "Survey of the Lakes," 1789, p. 149; Tweddell's "Furness Past and Present," I, p. 75. See also "Aske's Rebellion," 1536-7, by George Watson, in "Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological and Antiquarian Society," XIV., p. 335 *et seq.*

Yorkshire, and by others a man of low parentage. The object was to bring before the King a series of vague and ill-considered charges. To the contingents raised at various places Aske issued proclamations, and that despatched to Hawkshead is still preserved, and although it has been already printed we venture to reproduce it:—

“To the Commyns of Hawkeside Parish, Bailiffs, or Constables, with all the Hamletts of the same.

“Well beloved, we greet you well; and whereas our brother Poverty and our Brother Roger goith forward, is openly for the aide and assistance of your faith and holy church, and for the reformation of such abbeyes and monasterys now dissolved and subpressed without any just cause. Wherefore gudde brethers forasmuch as our sayd brederyn hath sende to us for ayde and helpe, wee do not only effectually desire you, but also under the paine of deadly sinne we comaunde you, and cury of you to be at the stoke Greene beside Hawkeside Kirke, the Saturday next being the xxviii day of October, by xi of the clock in your best array; and as you will make answer before the heigh judge at the dreadfull day of dome, and in payne of pulling doune your houses, and leasing of your gudds, and your bodies to be at the Capteyn’s will: for at the place aforesaid, then and there, yee and wee shall take furthur directions concerning our faith, so farre decayed, and for gudde and laudable customes of the country, and such naughty inventions and strange articles now accepted and admitted, so that our said brother bee subdued, they are lyke to goe furthwards to utter undoing of the Comynwealth.”

“Our brother Roger” mentioned in this strange document has been conjectured to be the last Abbot of Furness, while “our brother Poverty” was—Mr. A. Craig Gibson has surmised—a Hawkshead fisherman. It is, however, more probable that he was one of the four Penrith captains, named Hutton, Beck, Whelpdale, and Burbeck, who were respectively known as Charity, Faith, Poverty, and Pity.* The rioters eventually

* See A. Craig Gibson in “The North Lonsdale Magazine,” 1866, p. 259, and also Mr. Watson’s paper already cited.

met the Duke of Norfolk at Doncaster, and through him a long list of demands was laid before Henry VIII.

The King replied by a somewhat derisive letter, but pardoned the rioters who dispersed. Aske and the Lords Darcy and Hussy were afterwards beheaded, and so also, according to Clarke's "Survey of the Lakes," "the Abbot and Prior of Sawrey, near Hawkshead." This must surely be an error of "Salley," the last Abbot of which monastery, as well as the Abbot of Whalley, suffered capital punishment.

But this rising forms only a sequel to the Reformation, and the post-Reformation history of Hawkshead as a parochial unit really commences in 1578, when Archbishop Sandys, who afterwards founded the school, constituted it an independent parish by an act of metropolitan power, and at the same time made Colton parochial and consecrated its chapel.

Now this parochial Chapelry of Colton was destined to become an independent parish in 1676, and a few words about it and the minor Chapelries are necessary before proceeding.

There is evidence that a chapel existed at Colton in pre-Reformation times, but when it was founded we have nothing to shew. The "*Liber Regis*" mentions it as such, and so also Bishop Gastrell, who styles it a "mean, unconsecrated chapel." The first actual mention of it (in 1531) we have already noticed,* but there is some evidence of greater antiquity, notably the existence of a pre-Reformation bell and a fifteenth century font. At the Dissolution it was placed under Dalton, in conjunction, that is, with Hawkshead; for when the latter place was made a parish, Colton Chapelry was undoubtedly considered a dependency.

The Chapelry of Satterthwaite is believed to have been consecrated about the time of the Reformation, and as an unconsecrated Chapelry it may possibly be older.† It certainly existed in 1650, for in the Parliamentary Surveys of Church lands of that year (Inquisition, June 19, 1650) we find

* Page 94.

† See Gastrell's "*Notitia Cestriensis*," ed. by F. R. Raines for the Chetham Soc., Vol. XXII. ; also Tweddell's "Furness Past and Present," I., p. 107.



From a Photograph by Messrs. F. Fryth & Co.

HAWSHEAD CHURCH.

the inhabitants praying that "Satterthwaite Chapel may be made a Parish Church, and that Graisdale, Parkeymore, Daleparke, Graithwaite, and Risland, consisting of one hundred families or thereabouts, and four miles distant from the Parish Church, may be added thereunto." This petition was ignored, as is evident from the fact that the inhabitants continued to register till 1766 at Hawkshead.

There was one other ancient chapel in the parish, situated at Graythwaite, but its site is now unknown. Neither is it on record why it was abandoned, or at what period. Indeed, the only record remaining of it appears to be that in Bishop Gastrell's "*Notitia Cestriensis*": "This was formerly a chapel, but not made use of in ye memory of man. One Rob. Satterthwaite wⁿ a Boy heard his grandf. say he had been sev. times at Worship there. Certif. by Min., An. 1722. A poor mean building, about 12 yards long, not six within. The walls made use of for a maltkin and Turfroom by a Quaker in whose possession it now is. An. 1722." Not improbably this chapel owed its origin to the Archbishop.*

It is difficult to tell at what period the parish was broken up into the townships, quarters, or divisions as they existed during the eighteenth century, for no parish account book is extant earlier than 1696. It should be noticed that as both Colton and Hawkshead have their four quarters, it is probable that it was subsequent to the separation of Colton from the mother parish that these sub-divisions were made for the organizing of parochial business. They probably in a great measure replaced the seven pre-Reformation Bailiwicks, which are the only divisions we find mention of at an earlier date.†

The conduct of parochial affairs rested in the hands of the following officials:—The Minister or Curate; the four Churchwardens; the twenty-four Sidesmen; the Overseers of the

* The other ecclesiastical establishments are of modern date. Finsthwaite, erected 1724; Rusland, 1745; Haverthwaite, 1826. The churches of Brathay, Wray (in Claife), and Sawrey are still more recent.

† "In 1649, the following bailiwicks are mentioned:—Nibthwaite, Colton, Haverthwaite, Satterthwaite, Sawrey, and Graythwaite; and in 1633 Wm. Sawrey was made bailiff of Hawkeshead, with Hill Hawkeshead, Robert (Bank Park) Water Park, and divers other hamlets, with a fee of £2 13s. 4d."—West, 1st ed., p. 180.

Poor; the Overseers of the Highways; and the Parish Clerk.

The Incumbent was a stipendiary minister or curate, for no rectory or vicarage is believed to have ever been instituted. In Abbot Roger's Rental we find that £6 13s. 4d. was the salary of John Tayleyor, the only pre-Reformation curate whose name we know. In 1585 the parishioners petitioned the Queen to increase the minister's allowance, which was then only £10, and was inadequate. A commission was accordingly appointed, and although it collected evidence and reported that the salary should be increased to £30, we have no record of the result.* During the seventeenth century the stipend depended on various bequests of money and rent of some land and houses. Among the latter was an inn in Friday Street, called the "Three Blackbirds," which was destroyed in the great fire of London.†

No parsonage house appears to have existed prior to about 1650, when Dr. Walker, incumbent of St. John the Evangelist, in Watling Street, a native of Hawkshead and an eminent Puritan divine, gave the house called Walker Ground for this purpose. The present vicarage is no doubt the same building, although the residence of Mr. Lane, J.P., adjoining, is now called Walker Ground. Dr. Walker also made an allowance of £20 per annum to the minister then in charge, who was Mr. William Kempe.

The twenty-four Sidesmen were a sort of committee appointed by the Vestry for the management of parochial affairs. It has been conjectured that "Sidesman" was originally "Synodsman," because these officials had the power of presenting any offender against religion at the Episcopal Synod. Though no list of the twenty-four at Hawkshead remains earlier than 1694, we think that they were appointed before Hawkshead and Colton were separated, and not improbably before Hawkshead was constituted a parish. They were chosen from among the most responsible men, gentle and

* For this petition see Appendix under Lists of Incumbents.

† See Appendix (Charities).

simple, within the parish, and were portioned out six to each quarter. Their duties were manifold. They had to help the Churchwardens generally, and to advise them in all matters relating to the well-being of the parish. They *presented* parish officers who neglected their duty, and fined themselves for non-attendance at their meetings.* Charities and endowments seem to some extent to have passed through their hands, and, to put it in a nutshell, they constituted a sort of Parish Council of those days.

The Churchwardens were four in number, one for each division or quarter. They were elected annually at Easter, and most resident 'statesmen came in sooner or later for his term of office. Owing to the fact that no Churchwardens' accounts exist prior to 1696, we are in ignorance what the precise arrangements were prior to the division of Hawkshead and Colton, but the probability is that before that date the latter place had its own Chapelwarden, and that Churchwardens were appointed for the less distant parts of the parish.†

Although the first book of Churchwardens' accounts commences in 1696, it is most meagre in detail until about 1720, and it is perhaps doubtful if earlier books were kept. We can, therefore, only judge of the duties of these officials during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from what we find recorded in the eighteenth century. Probably, however, in most matters these duties in a rural parish were subject to little change. The account book of the eighteenth century includes general expenses, bread and wine at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, mending the clock, flagging and strawing the church, new ropes for the bells, seeing to the steeple, mossing the leads to keep out the damp, ringing the bells at festivals, whipping dogs out of church, glazing the windows, general repairs, paying for the destruction of foxes and ravens, washing the church linen, buying Books of Articles and Forms of Prayer, mending the surplices, leathering the bell tongues,

* The general parish meetings were held on St. Stephen's Day and Tuesday in Easter week.

† The first actual mention of Churchwardens which we have seen is in 1683, in an order of the Kirkbys to the Churchwardens, to fine parishioners for non-attendance at church.

smithy work, lime and carriage, loads of sand, journeys to the Sessions at the end of the Warden's term of office, cleaning the church plate, making and mending the Communion cloth, and cushions and pews. Much ale was charged for ringing at festivals and on other occasions. The dues payable for burials within the church are continually mentioned. It was also the duty of the Churchwardens to collect fines imposed for non-attendance at church, to aid in the suppression of Quaker conventicles, and probably to see that all shops were closed during service, and to herd any idlers from the public-houses or churchyard into the church at the commencement of the service and of the sermon.

The Overseers of the Poor were four in number, and were elected, like the Churchwardens, at Easter. As in the case of the Churchwardens, there are no accounts extant earlier than the eighteenth century. Through the Overseers' hands went the various little charitable bequests which had at different times been left to the poor. Their accounts were examined at the Easter Vestry, and probably were passed at the same time as the Churchwardens' accounts at the Sessions. Their duties were to provide relief for the poor in the shape of clothing, clogs, and sometimes meat; old and destitute females were furnished with spinning wheels, to give them a chance of earning a living; treatment of the sick,* the disbursement of lying-in and midwife expenses, boarding-out poor people and conducting them to their homes, the settlement of funeral expenses and arvel, and the provision of coffins, shifts, etc.

The Overseers of the Highways, sometimes called Surveyors, were always elected the 26th of December, and were probably originally four in number, one for each ward. During the eighteenth century their number was increased, and they were elected to represent hamlets instead of divisions. It is an office of no great antiquity, and one no doubt very loosely administered in former days. Their chief duties would be to

* The earliest mention of a doctor noticed is in 1769.

see that the pack-horse tracks were kept in some sort of repair.

The duties of the Parish Clerk at Hawkshead seem to have been of a varied description. The register seems to have been sometimes kept by him, he blew the pitchpipe to give the keynote to the Psalms, he cleaned the church, and no doubt dug the graves. A special annual allowance of £1 was left him in 1677, under the will of Mr. Daniel Rawlinson, to attend at the Monday (market day) service, which was instituted under the same bequest.

Let us now see what became of the tithes subsequent to the Dissolution. We have shown that about that date we have two valuations, one in Abbot Roger's Rental, and the other in the Commissioners' Certificate of the Abbey Revenues in 1537. The first gives their value as £87 odd, and the other £90, and they consisted of lambs' wool, Lenten tithes, offerings, etc. In 1539 we find that Hawkshead Hall was leased to one Gyles Kendal, and from some Duchy of Lancaster pleadings at a later date we learn that he farmed the Rectory. The tithes, however, appear to have been appropriated soon after, and were leased to various persons. About the twenty-ninth Elizabeth (1587) they were let to Adam and Edwin Sandys, for thirty-one years, at a rent of £90 per annum for the first thirteen years, and £100 per annum for the remainder of the term. In the third year of James I. (1605) they surrendered their lease to the King, paying £250 "in name of a fine," and obtained a new one for forty years at the rent of £100 per annum. But this lease was not allowed to run out, for in the ninth year of the same reign (1611) the tithes were granted by the King to Francis Morris and Francis Phillips; and in the sixteenth year of James I. (1618) we find Francis Morice and Edmund Sawyer, citizens of London, disposing of them by indenture to Roger Kirkby, of Kirkby Hall, for £1,550.*

In 1649 efforts were made to increase the poor livings by grants out of sequestrated tithes, which were in the hands of

* A copy of this conveyance is among the Hawkshead Hall papers.

Royalist malignants, and the Parliamentary Commissioners reported of Hawkshead that it "hath neither Viccaridge nor Parsonage only some small Tythes of Wool and Lamb and other small tithes within Hawkshead Bailiwick, the value of the Tithes not being known paid to Richard Kirkby of Kirkby Esqr. as Improprate to him and his heirs. . . . That the proffits issuing out of Hawkshead parish and belonging to the minister are nothing worth but only what the people please to contribute save £20 per ann. which is given and paid to the Minister by Mr. Walker the Minister of John the Evangelist in Watling Street . . . of which £20 the Parishioners have not any assurance nor know whether their said benefactor will settle the same upon the Church."

An indenture was made on July 16, 1649, by Richard Kirkby, by which £75 was settled, upon a composition, out of the tithes of Nibthwaite, Colton, Haverthwaite, and Satterthwaite, for the use of the Minister of Hawkshead. But this got into arrears, and was so in 1657, when it was ordered that £30 should be paid to the Minister of Colton, as a proportion.*

In 1689 Roger Kirkby, great-grandson of the last-named, mortgaged these tithes for £2,000 to Sir Francis Fowle, and the mortgage being foreclosed they passed to William Mead and Robert Brightall, of London, Goldsmiths, in trust for Jane and John Mead, executors of John Mead, of London, Goldsmith, who disposed of a portion of them in 1719 for £109 4s. 1½d., to Myles Sandys, Esq., of Esthwaite, William Braithwaite, of Briers, Gent., and William Braithwaite, of Foullyeat, Jonathan Braithwaite, of Fold, and William Rigg, of Foldyeat, Yeomen. Thus we see that, unless during the days of Presbyterianism, the Curate-in-charge received no tithe, and even then it is doubtful if he got any. The tithe, as a matter of fact, was simply bandied about from squire to banker as a speculation. In Colton the tithes were purchased

* See "A Survey of Church Lands, anno 1649," in the Lambeth Library. Local extracts are printed in Dr. Barber's "Furness and Cartmel Notes," 1894, p. 198. See also the "Register of Church Livings," 1654, Lansdowne MS. 459.

from the impropiator about the end of the seventeenth century.*

In the seventeenth century the inhabitants made an abortive attempt to prove that they were not liable to the payment of tithe, on two technical points, one of which was the supposition that all lands which had been held of the Cistercian Abbeys were exempt from this charge. The opposition was not confined to High Furness, for many fruitless and vain attempts to prove the exemption were made in various districts where the inhabitants held what had been abbey land. West, in his "Antiquities of Furness," has much interesting information on the subject, including the statement of the case of Hawkshead and the opinion of Sir Matthew Hales, who was made Chief Baron of the Exchequer soon after the Restoration, and afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench.†‡

Let us now turn to Hawkshead as a centre of Nonconformity in the seventeenth century. Between the Reformation and this date Popery had again for a brief period replaced Protestant Episcopacy, and had again given way to it. In the time of Charles I. a new religious change had taken place, and Presbyterianism had superseded Protestant Episcopacy. Through the agency of the "Westminster Assembly of Divines" (of which Dr. George Walker, born in Hawkshead, was a member) the Parliament in 1646 divided Lancashire into nine classical presbyteries, the ninth of which consisted of Aldingham, Urswick, Ulverston, Hawkshead, Colton, Dalton,

* See the Rev. A. A. Williams in "The Rural Deanery of Cartmel (Parish of Colton)"; but I am indebted to an unpublished MS. by the author of the "Annales Furnesienses" for some of the above details.

† West, first edition, p. 75 *et seq.*

‡ In the Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings, 6th November, 1646, we find that at one time the Nicholsons of Hawkshead Hall claimed the tithe as having been sold them by Morris and Philips in 1612, but we find no confirmation of this claim. An interesting document, however (amongst the hall deeds), is in our possession. In November, 1605, Allan Nicholson had a grant of the Manor corn mill for thirty-one years, to commence from the end of a nine years' lease then running. The inhabitants of Claife objected to have to take their corn there and pay multure, and erected a new mill on "Smoobeck," in Colthouse. Susannah, the widow of Allan Nicholson, sued them in the Duchy Court, and in 1619 got a verdict, the Claife people being ordered to destroy their mill or convert it to other uses. The former appears to have been done, for we know of no buildings or ruins on Smoothbeck.

Cartmel, Kirkby, and Pennington. With Charles II. Protestant Episcopacy once more became the State religion, and at this date also commenced the history of modern Dissent.

The earliest evidence of Nonconformity is thus chronicled in the Parish Register:—

(Burials 1658. ffeb. xth) "Agnes the wife of Edward Rigge de Hye Wray a Quaker which was buried at Coulthouse in George Braithwt. packe (parrock) the same beinge an Intended buryinge place for that Sect, and shee the first Corps which was layde therein."

Now George Fox did not make his first visit to Furness till 1652, and his own meeting-house was not built at Swarthmoor till 1688. At first sight, therefore, it looks as if the Hawkshead meeting-house is the oldest in the north. But this is not the case, although the formation of the burial ground in 1658 is a proof how rapidly the earnest doctrines of this remarkable man took root in High Furness. The deeds which are kept at Kendal do not actually state the date of erection, but they show that while the land for the burial ground was acquired in 1658, that for the meeting-house was not purchased till 1688; and also that previous to 1698 most of the meetings were held at Hawkshead, while in 1698-9 they were held at Colthouse,* but whether

* Baines ("History of Lancashire") says the meeting-house was erected in 1653 (probably an error for 1658), which, as the deeds show, is only the date of the formation of the burial ground. The following are extracts from a schedule of deeds kept at Kendal, prepared by and kindly shown me by Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., of High Wray:—

(1) 4 March, 1658. A conveyance from Geo. Braithwaite to J. Rigge and J. Braithwaite, Quakers, of High Wray, for £4 of "one peece or p'cell of arable land or lands . . . at the low side of my close called pocke (parrock) adjoyninge the hye-way which goes from Hawkshead to Sawrey and to the Low Thwaite, which said p'cell or p'cells of ground is now known by the common names of "Buriall place" with a little pocke adjoyninge to the south end . . . being by estimatⁿ. the tenth part of an acre or thereabout . . . to the sole only propp. use or uses, benefitt and behoofe of the Church of God att the Hyewray" and for the use of local Friends.

It is curious to notice that in this the close of land was already known as "Buriall place," although only one interment had apparently taken place, and that, reckoning by "old time," less than a month before.

(2) 18 11 month, 1669. A feoffment of the same, in which the land is alluded to as at Causey End, in Colthouse.

(3) 31 May, 1688. This refers to the purchase of the meeting-house ground at Benson Orchard, extending from the hye-way to the wall on the west side, and from the wall on the north side to certain stakes on the south side, containing half a rood of ground. It does not appear that the meeting-house was then erected.

at the present meeting-house or in some private dwelling we do not know. Probably, however, the meeting-house was completed and first used about this date. The necessity for a burial ground was in all cases more urgent than that for a meeting-house, for in these early days the Friends generally gathered in the private house of one of the more prominent of their number.

It was in 1664 that there began the persecution of Non-conformists, by the "Conventicle Act," which ordained that every person above sixteen, attending any Dissenting meeting after that date, was liable to imprisonment for three months, or a fine of £5 for the first offence, double for the second offence, and for the third, a fine of £100 or seven years' transportation to the American plantations, from which escape was death. That this tyrannical Act was no dead letter at Hawkshead, a warrant for the suppression of such a meeting at High-Wray, which is now in Kendal museum, well illustrates. This warrant is dated 16th January, 1684, and is signed by Roger Kirkby of Kirkby Hall, the lay impropiator of the Hawkshead Tithes, and the son of that Colonel Kirkby who was the relentless persecutor of George Fox and Margaret Fell. The meeting took place on the 30th day of the previous November, at the "Mansion house of George Braithwaite," who is described in the warrant as "Husbandman,"

(4) 11 3 month, 1704. A feoffment with two memos. The first provides that a parcel at the north end of the burial ground is to be reserved for the family of William Rawlinson or of such as he shall consent to be buried there, and for no other purpose. The other states that on this day "quiett and peaceable possession and seizin was taken and delivered by the above named friends of and in the p'cell of ground above granted, by cutting up a small clod of earth, and delivering the same clod, pte. of the premises, in the name and lieu of possession of the premises."

This year the burial ground was finally walled in.

(5) 27 3 month, 1729. Feoffment of the burying ground. Refers to the new house called "the Meeting-house," lately built and walled round. A memo. notes the delivery of the key, a twig of wood, and a clod of earth, as token of delivery of possession.

The records of the Hawkshead Quaker colony are not all together. The books of the quarterly, monthly, and preparative meetings are at Ulverston, in the hands of Mr. J. H. Clayton, Richmond Terrace; the deeds and conveyances are at Kendal; and there are other documents, we believe, at Devonshire House, in London. Mr. Craig Gibson (in Vol. VI., "Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society," p. 68) notes that the Meeting-house was endowed with £10, to provide hay for the horses of worshippers coming from a distance.

which then meant farmer. The following were the convictions and fines:—

George Braitewaite for suffering the conventicle above mentioned to bee kept in his said house the sume of	£20 0 0
William Atkinson of Monke Coniston, tanner, for his being present at the con- venticle aforesaid, and for his having before committed (and been duly convicted of) the like offence.	00 10 00
William Satterthwaite, Colthouse, mercer, for the like	00 10 00
Edward Satterthwaite of Town end, tanner, for the like offence	00 10 00
Charles Satterthwaite of Greene end, husband- man, for the like	00 10 00
Thomas Rawlinson of Graithwaite, gen., for his beinge present at the conventicle aforesaid, being his first offence ...	00 05 00
John Park, of Skelwith, hatter, for the like	00 05 00
John Birkett, of the same, carpenter, for the like	00 05 00
Myles Birkett, of Cartmelfell, yeoman, for the like	00 05 00
Agnes Satterthwaite, wife of the said Edward Satterthwaite, for the like	00 05 00
Barbary Satterthwaite, wife of the said Charles Satterthwaite for the like ...	00 05 00

And because the said Agnes Satterthwaite, and Barbary Satterthwaite, are feme coverts severally cohabiting with their said husbands, I have therefore adjudged the said severall ffines of five shillings (imposed on each of them, the said Agnes Satterthwaite, and Barbary Satterthwaite) to bee levied of the severall goods and chatells of their said husbands respectively.

A certaine man, unknowne, for his teachinge and preachinge in the conventicle aforesaid, hath forfeited (by virtue of the

said statute) the sume of twenty pounds, and because the same man is a stranger, and his name and habitation unknowne, soe that the said sume of twenty pounds by him, soe forfeited cannot bee levied of his goods and chattells, I have therefore (by my discretion) adjudged the same twenty pounds to be levied of the severall goods and chattells, of the respective persons (who were also present at the same conventicle) whose names are hereunder next mentioned, in manner following (that is to say).

The said William Atkinson, of Monke			
Coniston (in parte of the same £20)			
the sume of	...	...	£05 00 00
The said William Satterthwaite of Coult-			
house (in further parte thereof) other			
			05 00 00
The said Thomas Rawlinson, of Graithwaite			
(in further parte thereof) other			
	...		05 00 00
The said Myles Birkett, of Cartmell (the			
residue thereof) other			
	...	...	05 00 00

Even earlier than this date, fines were imposed for non-attendance of Church, for it was presumed that Nonconformity was the cause of such neglect. The following order is fifteen months prior to the last cited:—

“This is to the Churchwardens of Hawkshead, to fine the persons named within for not attending Church 3 Sundays
17th Oct. 1683.
Com. Lancs.

Foreasmuch as the several persons hereunder named did not upon Sunday, the sixteenth of September last past, nor upon Sunday then next following, nor upon Sunday then next following, resort or repair to any church, chappell, or any other place appointed for common prayer, and there heare divine service according to the form of the statute in that behalfe (made) and being called before us did not make sufficient excuse for their said defaulte to our satisfaction these are therefore to will and require you or one of you doe levye by distresse and sale of the goods of their several persons hereunder named respectively three

shillings for their defaulte aforesaid to be employed to and for the use of the poor of your parish (rendering to every of them the overplus of the money) raised of the goods aforesaid respectively soe to be sould. And in defaulte of such distresse that you doe certify us or one of us thereof with all convenient speed to the end we may further proceed therein as to Justice do appertayne. Hereof fail not at your perils.

"Give'd under our hands and seals ye seventeenth day of October Ann^o Regni Regis Caroli Secundi vicesimo quinto Anno Domini 1683."

This mandate is signed by Roger and William Kirkby, and bears two impressions on wax of the Kirkby Arms. The list of names of the delinquents numbers about sixty-one, many being married couples; and we recognize among them several who appear at the High Wray Conventicle, viz:—John Birkett, William Atkinson, George Braithwaite, William Satterthwaite, Edward Satterthwaite and his wife, and Thomas Rawlinson.

The next oldest Nonconformist establishment in the district is the Baptist church or chapel at Tottlebank in Colton. This was established at the house of one William Rawlinson "on the 18th day of ye sixth month called Augst 1669," and among the members joining at that time were the Rev. Gabriel Camelford or Camerford, who had already been ejected from Stavely Chapelry by the Act of Uniformity, and Roger Sawrey of Broughton Tower, an old Cromwellian officer already nicknamed "Praying Sawrey." Camelford became the first pastor, and during his time the place was visited by George Fox.

In 1678 a small Baptist chapel was founded at Hawkshead Hill, and about the same time, and in connection with it, one at Sunnybank in Torver.* The one at Hawkshead Hill, recently re-edified, appears to have been formed out of an older cottage. Its old records are

* The actual date of the foundation of the Sunnybank chapel was the 15th of the fourth month (June), 1678, and probably of that at Hawkshead Hill also.

unfortunately lost. Its burying ground is still occasionally used, but contains no epitaph earlier than 1750. The most recent of the old Nonconformist chapels is that of the Friends at Rook How or Abbot Oak in Colton, which was founded in 1725. All these Quaker meeting-houses have a strong family likeness, and this should be compared with that at Colthouse, and both with the one at Swarthmoor. Rook How was erected as a convenient centre for monthly meetings, and it is believed that there were at that date but few, if any, resident Quakers in this neighbourhood.

We cannot leave the history of the parish without saying something about the devastation wrought in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the Plague. Here comes in the great value of our ancient parish registers, which, read aright, are far more than bare catalogues of names: and we can trace exactly, from the fluctuations in burials and marriages, the years in which this scourge attacked the people of our parish; we can learn the names of the families which suffered most, and to some extent we can watch its effect on the survivors. The story told is one of calamity and suffering—calamity of a kind which, fortunately, rural England seldom is brought face to face with now: and it is terrible to picture to ourselves the horror of those days, when day after day saw the mournful funeral processions to the old grey church, and whole families, living in the fellside homesteads, in the fairest scenery in the north, were swept away by the hand of pestilence.*

Few northern towns did not suffer from the plague during the latter part of the sixteenth century. It was bad at Newcastle in 1570, but in the Hawkshead register it first makes its appearance in 1572 and 1573, when the burials were considerably over the average. Three healthy years followed, and then in 1577 the number of burials suddenly increased to 86, or 24 above the average for the decade, and as much as 48 more than in the previous year. We find also a pathetic

* For a more detailed account of the local effects of the Plague see the present writer's "*Oldest Register Book of Hawkshead*," 1897, p. lxxi.

note entered in the register in November, the month it broke out:—" * In this monthe begane the pestelent sicknes in or pishe w^{ch} was brought in by one George Barwicke whereof is depted all those yt are thus marked.*"

Thirty-eight names are accordingly starred as victims, and all these were buried between the 19th November and the 25th February. Thirty-two deaths were in December and January, and the whole thirty-eight were confined to eight surnames, so that we may conclude that the pestilence was confined to a few households.

The families who were attacked were the Tomlinsons, Hodgsons, Barwicks, Kirkbys, Wattersons, Walkers, Riggess, and Dixons, and of these the Tomlinsons and Hodgsons were the chief sufferers, the former losing twelve members and the Hodgsons eight. On one day alone, the 17th January, three Tomlinsons were buried.

In the years 1580 and 1583 the mortality was again high, and in 1591 it reached 67, or 21 above the average for the decade; and although there remains no local record of a pestilence the figures are sufficient to show that the plague was in our valley. The next plague year was 1597, when the disease raged disastrously all through Cumberland and Westmorland. At Hawkshead there were 84 burials (only two less than in 1577), but the mortality was more generally distributed through the whole year than in 1577; and, as there were 66 burials in 1598, it is evident that it was slow in going. Its route through the north has been conjectured to have been:—Newcastle, Kirkoswald, Penrith, Appleby, and Kendal, but it broke out at Penrith in September, whereas the mortality at Hawkshead was heaviest during the earlier months, so that it probably reached Furness by some other route.

The plague had as yet far from completed its work. The next recorded visitation was 1623, but there is evidence in the register of less virulent outbreaks in 1612 and 1613. In 1623 however, the mortality, as evinced by burials, rose to 97, or more than double the average of the years 1618-1628.

This epidemic devastated all Cumberland, Westmorland, and the south of Scotland, and many places are known to have suffered far more than Hawkshead.*

The worst months, locally, were August, September, November, and February, in the first-named of which 21 victims were buried. There is no special mention in the register of deaths by plague, and it does not appear to have been confined to a few households, like the pestilence of 1577; although there are some six or seven examples of husband and wife succumbing. As the following year is omitted in the register, it seems possible that the registrar himself suffered.

In 1636 the mortality was again high, and it then became fairly normal until 1668, when there ensued a series of bad years, the average mortality from that to 1672 inclusive being no less than $62\frac{1}{2}$, and the highest (1672) 69, or 26 above the average for the decade. These years contain many examples of several deaths at a single farm.

This series of sickly years was, from the prolonged period it extended over, in a way more serious than some of the isolated but acute plague years. It will be noticed that they followed soon after the great visitation of London in 1665. As that was practically the last of the epidemic in the Capital, so these years were practically the last in the seventeenth century at Hawkshead, for a much lower average mortality followed.

One very curious thing comes to light in examining the registers during these epidemics. During those years in which the mortality was above normal the number of marriages was also above normal, but the ensuing years in each case were the reverse.

Thus, in 1572 and 1573, both plague years, the marriages numbered 14 and 16, but in 1574 they dropped to 8. In 1580, when there were 52 burials, the marriages numbered 14, but in the following year only 6. In 1583 there were

* The deaths at Greystoke were five times the average, and at Lancaster the burials amounted to 270.

16 marriages, and in 1584 only 7; while in the bad year of 1597 the marriages were 16, and in 1598 only 8.

Of course the month of the year in which the epidemic broke out sometimes influenced this. The visitation of 1577 commenced in November, and the first plague-burial took place on the 19th of that month. The number of marriages in that year was already above the average, but no more were celebrated until September in the ensuing year, although the plague had ceased.

The plague of 1597 was more general throughout the year, and at Penrith, where the population was much greater, no wedding was celebrated until the summer. At Hawkshead no one ventured on matrimony, except three couples, until October, yet by the end of the year there had been sixteen.

But we observe a similar effect when the sickly years of 1668 to 1672 came on. During these five years the marriages were respectively 6, 12, 10, 7, and 10; but during the next four years, in which the burial rate was low, the marriages dropped to 5, 3, 3, and 5. It should be noticed that Colton was made a parish in 1676, but it does not appear that this division made any difference in the burials and marriages at Hawkshead, for the Colton register was kept at least as early as 1623, although it is full of gaps and apparently carelessly kept until 1676. The truth may possibly lie in the suggestion of the writer of the criticism on our edition of the "Parish Register," which appeared in the "Westmorland Gazette" in October, 1897:—

"The explanation is most probably to be found in the prudence rather than the levity of the survivors. As death unexpectedly removed the heads of families, their places would be filled more rapidly than usual by marriages among the younger generation; and when the cause of this accelerated movement ceased, the effect would cease too."

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CHAPTER III.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE.

IT is a fact, a very melancholy fact, that nine educated people out of ten fly at the very name of Archæology. We ourselves know men and women of high social rank, sympathetic by nature, refined in thought, and familiar in every way with modern social life, yet who, suddenly confronted with this word, gasp, trip, and stumble over it as if it were some unpronounceable tribal African or Madagascar name.

Now this is intelligible, but entirely wrong. Archæology is simply the study of the evidences of history; which no one can ignore; and though the latter study should perhaps rightly be placed before it, the great value of Archæology merits recognition, not ridicule.

An antiquary—that is, the genuine article—is born as such, and you can no more lead him from his study than you can train a man—without the archæological bump, so to speak—to be an archæologist. You may, indeed, train him to be a collecting machine, or even a classifying machine, but you cannot make an inspired antiquary of him; for that is only, as the Arabs would put it, “*Min Allah*.” If you ever find an archæologist of eminence from training, you may be sure that the bump was on his head, and that drew him into the path, not chance or education.

Local archæological publications are proverbially, and very often really, dull. Consequently, there is but a small buying public of such works, and hence the origin of local Archæological Societies—bodies of persons who, being all interested

in the past of a special locality, unite, and by joint subscriptions publish all such matter as they can, to illustrate it.

Many local antiquaries, and excellent ones, too, are men of incomplete education, and it may indeed be said that the percentage of local workers which possesses real literary skill is very small. Naturally, therefore, their publications are not popular, though often they are valuable and important. Let them remember, however, that their names will often be remembered in their parish or county at a period when that of many an author of sensational fiction will have been long buried in oblivion.

Here and there we find a skilled *littérateur* who is an antiquary or historian at heart; and we could mention certain works of fiction which have probably done more to stimulate popular interest in the past than whole sets of Learned Society transactions. Baring Gould and Charles Reade are such men; and locally Mr. W. G. Collingwood's *Saga romances*, "Thorstein," and the "Bondwoman," shew how research can be served up in a most palatable form in fiction.

Many a time has it been said to the writer by neighbours or visitors to the Lakes, "There is not much of historical interest in this part, I believe"; and as far as national history may be concerned this may be true. But the student of local history can find plenty to interest him in local things, and evidence of any sort of ancient population, however insignificant it may be in detail, or even the absence of such remains, tells a story to those that read aright.

To the student of local history nothing should be too small. He must wander miles through thick heather to visit a mound of which he has heard, and must feel no discouragement if it prove a heap of glacial *debris*, or a pile of stones cleared from a pasture, instead of a cairn or tumulus. Pencil and pocket-book must be ready to note down dated stones or furniture, to make sketches of stone implements, and the Ordnance sheet should be in his wallet to mark down the lines of any ancient trackways or disused roads. He should

be pedestrian, bicyclist, and horseman; and, above all, he should have eyes and ears, for without the faculty of observation, as an antiquary he will be naught.

In this chapter we propose to gather up for our reader brief notes of local archæology. The majority of things we touch on, we have elsewhere described in detail, so that long and technical descriptions can be dispensed with, and those who require them can find the necessary references in the footnotes.

EVIDENCES OF EARLY HABITATION.

For the size of the parish the early remains that have been noticed are but few. And this is somewhat curious, for the fell country to the west, and also across Windermere to the east, are prolific (in some cases remarkably so) in rude early remains. The moors of Kirkby, Torver, and Dunnerdale are, in fact, thickly interspersed with ancient walled enclosures, with their attendant cemeteries of sepulchral cairns. Circular rings of turf and stone are often found, and stone-built dikes, and entrenched ramparts are not unfrequently met with.* It is difficult to put a date to these sites, for little scientific exploration has ever taken place. Some few cairns have been opened, and cists of stone, fragments of pottery, and rude flints have been turned out with burned bones. The evidence, in fact, is little worth, although it rather points to these cairns having been constructed in what we call the British bronze age. The settlements are in no sense forts, but the homes of primitive communities placed high on the moorlands to be clear of the jungle and morass which filled the valleys. At whatever date the series originated, we have no proof that wild Britons did not utilise them even long after the Roman period.† The circles of upright stones (the Druids' temples of the old antiquaries, and also, too often, of our

* For a full description of all these in Furness see the author's "Ancient Settlements, Cemeteries, and Earthworks of Furness," with numerous plans.—*Archæologia*, Vol. LIII.

† In the Westmorland Fells other types are known to the writer, which, though certainly not Roman, are placed near Roman roads, and bear evidence of greater structural knowledge. They may well be the work of Romanized Britons, but the subject awaits investigation.

Ordnance Survey) still exist in Cumberland, and not infrequently in propinquity to the settlements. This, again, points to a pre-Roman origin for the series.

On one of the highest points of the intake called Frith, on the Hawkshead Hall estate, and about one mile north-west by west of the town, is a large round cairn of earth and stones which was dug out in 1883 under the writer's superintendence. The result was the discovery of a deposit of burnt bones placed with a most beautifully finished little flint knife, in a rudely-formed square hole cut in the natural soil, and protected by a large stone. Elsewhere in the cairn were found deposits of charcoal and burnt earth, but nothing else.*

South of this, in Hawkshead Hall Parks, which are intakes of moor, we find a curious construction, which may or may not be coeval with the sepulchral cairn. There are two broad mounds or ramparts of earth, one running north-east and south-west, and the other leaving it at right angles and running south-east. The first is nearly a quarter of a mile in length, and about eleven feet wide, with a shallow trench or ditch about four feet in width on its east side. Its composition appears to be chiefly earth, and it is not now over two feet in height. The other is of similar construction, with its trench on the south side, but in one place a small brooklet takes the place of the trench. This rampart crosses a small ravine, and, ascending, passes between two small elevations, which looks as if it was not constructed for defensive work. On the summit it becomes nearly lost, but further on a similar work nine feet in width without a trench can be traced for about a hundred yards, running south-south-west, when it turns at a right angle and passes down a hillside in its original direction, and again accompanied by a trench. Here it is more stony, and, being again commanded by higher ground, does not appear to have been constructed for defence. The rampart altogether is a little over half a mile in length,

* "Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society," Vol. IX., pp. 202 and 497-8.

and the trench would seem to have been formed by throwing up the rampart, and with no other object.

There is but one other dike of this character in the neighbourhood, and this is situated at Bleaberry Haws, Torver, on the west side of Coniston Lake.* This example runs north-west and south-east, crossing a valley and the summits of the hills on either side. Its construction is very similar to that near Hawkshead, and, like it, it is associated with cairns which have yielded interments, and other early enclosures.

These dikes are a great puzzle, and numerous and widely diverse explanations of their origin have been advanced. Canon Atkinson, in his "Forty Years in a Moorland Parish," describes numerous similar entrenchments drawn across the headlands which cross and divide the dales of the Cleveland Hills. His suggestion that they were the work of an advancing force from the seaboard (perhaps the Bronze Age folks penetrating the land of the ruder Stone Age people), and throwing up, as they advanced, new defensive lines to hold the adverse tribes in check, has some plausibility. But it is far from proved; and though both the Torver and Hawkshead dikes cross moorland ridges from east to west, we have pointed out that the lines taken are but poor ones for defence. A suggestion, which has been made, that they were deer-traps, crossing each other at right angles, and that the deer were driven into the angles by beaters, is ridiculous, for the labour of constructing such broad and massive dikes would be quite unnecessary.

There is just another possibility as to the origin of these dikes, which we give for what it is worth. In the "Ere-dwellers Saga" we read of Thorolf Bægifot being buried "strongly in howe." Thereafter he gave such trouble by "walking" that he was dug up and conveyed to, and buried on, a headland, to which his name adhered: and across the neck of the promontory a strong wall was built, so high that only birds could cross it, to keep him in; while on the two

* For description see the papers already cited in the "Archæologia" and "Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society."

other sides the sea effected the same purpose. Now the Furness dikes cross moorland ridges, and both are near burial "howes." Can we have the same idea here? It seems doubtful, because we have here no sea to complete the prison, so that if the dikes were not themselves enclosures, what was to prevent the restless dead from creeping round the dike or wall ends? At Torver, indeed, the dike finishes at each end at a beck, and very likely it was so at one time on Hawkshead Moor. Is it possible that the charm of running water against the unnatural would suffice?*

There are two other small cairns $1\frac{3}{8}$ miles distant from the Frith cairn to the south-west on Monk Coniston Moor, and the partial examination of one brought to light charcoal, and nothing more; and at about half the distance between these and the Frith cairn there is a rude earth and stone ring hidden in a larch wood. It is 39 feet in diameter, enclosing a hollow centre 18 feet across, the material excavated having apparently been thrown out to form the ring. It is near but not on the summit of the fell, and, as it has never been examined, it cannot be said whether it is a barrow of the ring-mound type, or a pit-dwelling. Another solitary cairn is on Bethacar Moor in Colton.

Stone implements have turned up occasionally in our parish, the localities being Rusland, Bank Ground, Coniston, Wray, the writer's own home, and Sike-side in Claife. Few though these examples are, we find among them various types, the large perforated hammer-axe so frequently occurring in the north, well-finished polished celts or axes, the rude perforated adze form, and a curious pestle-like specimen with a hole to hang it to the girdle, which is probably unique.†

Though bronze weapons have occurred in Low Furness and Westmorland, no single instance is on record in Hawkshead parish. But the types of stone weapons we have described,

* May we not take it that the true object of all tumuli, coffins, ring mounds, and even pyramids, is to weigh down the restless dead and keep them from "walking"? Surely this is more likely than that they are memorials only—an object easily effected by a simple post or upright stone.

† For details see "Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society," IX., 204. "Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.," 2nd S. xi., 227 *et seq.*

and also the shape of the cairns and interment belong to classes which our most competent antiquaries believe to be posterior to the introduction of that metal into the country. But the fact is, bronze was always a rare and valuable commodity, owned probably by few, and the scantiness both of structural remains and of implements in Hawkshead parish seems to shew that there was no tribal centre here, only probably a few stragglers from the great settlements at Kirkby, Woodlands, and Coniston. A small outlying community such as this, would possess but few of the bronze treasures, while the stone weapons were easily made. These, the earliest dalesmen of whom we have any trace, were most probably a mixed race of the round and long headed people, and we may fancy that a few wild fellows, armed only with stone axes and knives, gazed with wrath from the heights of Latterbarrow at the glitter of Roman arms, as the intruders first forced their way through the tangle and bog to Windermere Waterhead.

One other thing may be mentioned. In a field right opposite Whitestock Hall, in Colton, stands an upright glaciated boulder, about four feet high, planted on its end on a footing of stones, on a hillock. It may be a solitary stone remaining of a stone circle; it may mark the tomb of an early chief. Perhaps it was a meeting-place or rendezvous for an open-air court; but there is nothing to tell us.* All we can say is that it was erected by the hand of man, and that it is not a post for cattle to rub against.

A curious discovery was made in 1867 by men digging peats at Out-Dubs, near the south end of Esthwaite Water. The diggers turned up, some four to six feet below the surface, six large felt bags of a conical shape, which are said to have all been neatly folded and laid one upon the other. At the time there appears to have been no one in the district who took any interest in the find, and the writer only heard of it about 1884, when all had been lost except

* Or it may even be a Norse Thor's stone, or sacrifice stone. Such are still standing in Iceland, and can be identified by the Sagas.

one, which is now in his possession. It is made of a soft warm felt, brown in colour (but this may be due to peat stain), and when laid out flat, about two feet wide at the widest part, and about one foot seven inches in length. This has been exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, at the British Association, and elsewhere ; and though various sugges-



STANDING STONE AT WHITESTOCK.

tions have been made, the best is that they are hoods of primitive manufacture. Such finds are rare, but not unknown. Mr. Anderson, in his "*Scotland in Pagan Times*," figures a beautiful fringed hood of wool, which was found in peat in Orkney, and which is now in the Museum at Edinburgh ; and there is some evidence that it belongs to the Viking age. In Scandinavia itself, woollen garments have also been

preserved in graves and mosses, and they appear to belong to the Bronze Age and the second century of our era. Hoods were, however, no doubt a common form of head-dress from very early times till late in the Middle Ages; and there is no possible way to judge of the age of the Out-Dubs finds, even if they are hoods, except in their extreme plainness and lack of ornamentation. The fact that they do not appear to



ANCIENT HOOD (?) FOUND AT OUT-DUBS.

have formed part of any cape or garment is also worth noticing.

ROMAN EVIDENCES.

We have said elsewhere that there is some evidence that a Roman vicinal way passed through the parish from the camp at Waterhead to Dalton. Baines, in his "History of

Lancashire,"^{*} writes: "Traces of a Roman road have been perceived on the eastern borders of Satterthwaite, pointing towards Ambleside, and apparently constructed as a vicinal way from Low Furness"; and pieces of Roman tile and brick have been taken out of the ancient walling at Hawkshead Hall when under repair. A bronze coin of Aurelius (161-180 A.D.) has also been found near Colthouse.

We are entirely unable to find out anything concerning the portion of road mentioned by Baines, and the coin is of little value as evidence; but it is hardly possible to account for the presence of Roman fragments at Hawkshead Hall, except by the supposition that a ruined building of Roman date was standing somewhere near at the time of construction. We do not believe that Roman engineers would make a road or track down the Grisedale valley, for Dale Park (to the east) presents far less difficulty in gradients. This also is the oldest main line of communication within recorded times, and being in Satterthwaite parish, the discovery mentioned by Baines may well have been in Dale Park. Thence the road led, we believe, fairly direct to Penny Bridge, and in another place we have pointed out some interesting evidence in the place-names at this point.

EARLY MEDIÆVAL PERIOD.

Although Furness, like all the Cumbrian fells, is saturated with traces of the Scandinavian occupation, finds of actual Norse remains are practically unknown; and we cannot, indeed, point to the discovery of any ruins or antiquities of Norse character within the limits of our parish. The reasons are somewhat obscure, but the absence of such finds points out, we think, that the very copious Norse nomenclature is evidence rather of the greatly superior intellectual energy of the new settlers over such weakened tribesmen as were left, than of a very numerous population. They were probably poor, owning but few valuables, but they were men of

^{*} Vol. IV., p. 704. See also Watkins' "Roman Lancashire," p. 85, and "The Archæological Journal," XXV., 337.

industry and commercial energy, so that they stamped their language on the features of the country around.

There is, however, just outside the northern boundary of the parish, a singularly interesting memorial of this period, to the probable character of which the present writer was the first to call attention. It is situated immediately in rear of the farm of Fell Foot, at the base of the hill road leading from Ambleside to Wrynose, Hardknott, and Ravenglass, and consists of an oblong platform, about seventy feet by twenty feet, surrounded by stepped platforms about fourteen feet wide. It thus forms a terraced mound, which in character, though not in plan, is almost identical with the Tynwald Hill in Man. The site is at the junction of a series of mountain passes, and at the point where the Roman road from Ambleside to Hardknott was probably met by one from Keswick, through the Stake Pass, Great Langdale Head, and the Bleatarn Pass. Another road, which may possibly also have been a Roman trackway, led from Yewdale and Coniston to Broughton, and yet another by Tilberthwaite to Hawkshead.

We have, therefore, not only a mound identical in character to the historical Thingmount of Man, but situated in every respect suitably for a similar purpose. The first attention was drawn to it by that industrious student of the district, Mr. A. Craig Gibson, and although it was with some diffidence that we first suggested the above origin, it has been received with approbation generally by those who have made a deep study of Scandinavian archæology.*

Although the absence of finds of the Norse population has led us to surmise that the colony was never a dense one,

* See A. Craig Gibson, in the "Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society" (New Series), Vol. VIII. ; H. S. Cowper, on "A Law Ting at Fell Foot," "Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society," Vol. XI., p. 1 ; W. G. Collingwood, in "The Vikings of Lakeland" (Sagabook, Viking Society, 1896), with illustration of the Thingmount ; and the same writer in "Furness a Thousand Years ago" (1896), "Reports and Proceedings of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club" (1896).

There seems to be no doubt that Mr. Craig Gibson had some sort of "inkling" as to the character of this mound, although he never ventured to discuss it. In his paper, "The Langdales," he mentions it, and then notes that in a fine dell, or cove, near, are "a great number of small conical mounds," which he suggests are glacial, but thinks their proximity to the "probably *judicial* tumulus at Fell Foot" renders excavation desirable. The mounds in question we have never seen.

the existence of such a Thingmount indicates a considerable amount of cohesion and organisation among the Viking settlers of our dales. The Thingmount must have been a central point for a large area, and the site was, as we have seen, well chosen ; but the Norse were an organizing race, and their physical energy was equalled by their intellectual activity. The Lawmount is a proof that the Roman roads were still passable, and that our Norse ancestors knew and appreciated their value, and by their means the whole colony were in communication with each other, and a thorough knowledge of the geography of the hills no doubt obtained.

A mile and a half from the foot of Coniston Lake, and close to the only striking promontory on the eastern side, lies a rocky islet, about one hundred yards in length. Its axis lies north-east and south-west, and at its southern end projects from the water a ridge of rock of much less size.

This is Peel Island, Montague Island, or the Gridiron, names which tell their own story, for at one time it was a little fortress, at another it belonged to the family of Buccleuch, whilst the last name arises from the parallel rocky crests that run from end to end.

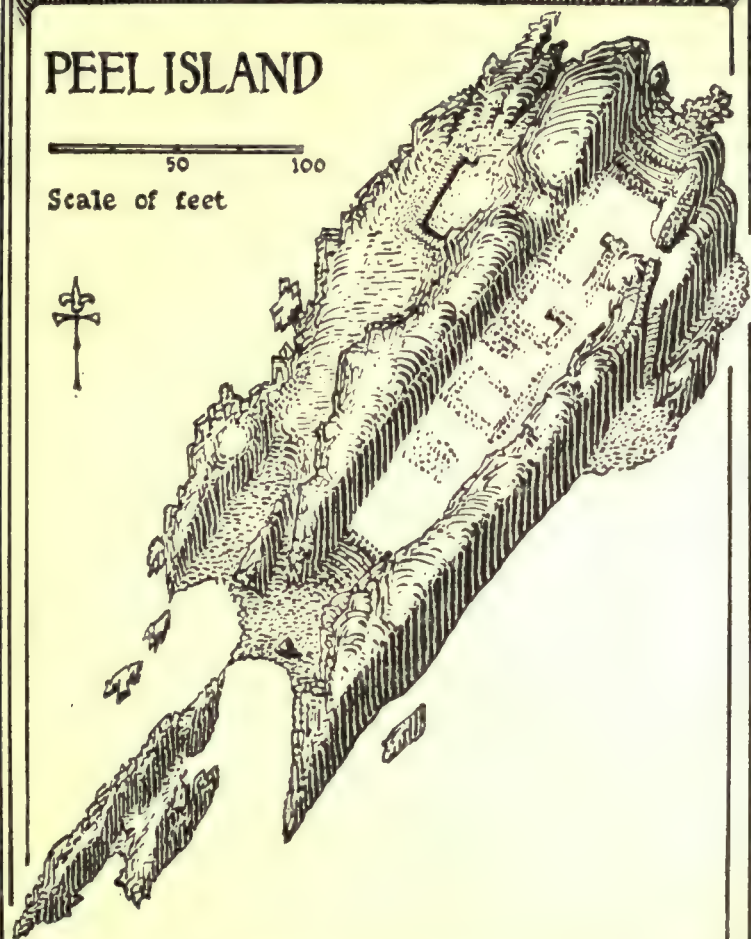
"Peel" means a fortress, and this suggested to Mr. Collingwood an examination, to find if it contained traces of buildings. The island consists of two parallel ridges running the full length, that on the east side dropping steeply with the dip of the rock to the deep water, and although on the west side of the other, or central ridge, there intervenes a leveller area, the actual western shore or edge of the islet is sufficiently rocky to be almost impracticable for landing.

The little place is, in fact, a natural fortlet. Two tiny harbours lie at the south-west end, by the "Calf" rock, where boats can be beached ; but they are commanded immediately from the steep ends of the ridges of rock. There is a possible but very steep landing at the opposite end, which could be easily and sufficiently barricaded. In betwixt the ridges, habitations could be formed by simply roofing across,

PEEL ISLAND

50 100

Scale of feet





using the ridges themselves for walls ; and a very snug, if somewhat limited, dwelling thus formed.

In this area Mr. Collingwood dug, and traced out the ill-preserved walls of chambers and rooms, while on the west side of the central ridge other foundations were found. Relics of any value there were—as was probable—absolutely none, but numerous rusted nails showed that timber had been considerably used in the buildings, while some few fragments of pottery were turned up, which competent authorities have decided are mediæval, and probably of the thirteenth century.

Now it is a very singular thing that there is absolutely no record in local history of this place. The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey (which owned the lordship of Hawkshead) and the records of the Coniston Manor may be searched in vain. The question is—how could any petty chieftain maintain himself on this island fortalice without bringing upon himself the notice of the lords of the land.

We must remember, however, how far the fells were from the Abbey, and we have seen that Beaumont, Lacy, Lockwood, and Dawson were outlaws in the fells in the fourteenth century. Indeed, something not far from akin to outlawry existed in the parish within almost the memory of man, as we shall elsewhere relate. The best explanation we can at present give is that Peel Island was once the refuge and home of some petty law-breaker. We do not fancy that such a tenancy would, however, be long tolerated, for the lake as a highway, would be too public a place ; and the increase of population and settlement of the country would render a more hidden retreat necessary.*

* The writer has in his possession a curious heavy stone vessel, of unexplained use, which came from the farm at Parkamoor, on the hillside above. Its primitive appearance suggests that it may have come from Peel Island, when the occupation of that island came to an end.

In "Thorstein of the Mere," Mr. Collingwood makes his hero take up his residence at Peel Island in 942 A.D., and there he is attacked in 945 A.D. There is, of course, no evidence that the island was inhabited at this date, but on the other hand there is no improbability.

ARCHITECTURE.

The Lake District is perhaps anything but a good place for the professional architect to learn his business in, but for the student of local development of methods and material it is by no means uninstructional. We cannot, indeed, boast the noble churches of Lincolnshire, and we can point to the battlements of no proud castles; but in the modest parish churches, the sturdy tower-houses of the 'squires, and the low, substantial, rough-cast dwellings of the old 'statesman families, we may read a lesson of considerable local interest, and far from being devoid of instruction.

In treating this subject, we prefer to climb the ladder, instead of descending it; that is, to examine first the dwellings of the people, as we find them in the fell-side farms, and then to pass on to the few hall-houses, or gentlemen's residences, of past time, reserving our notes on ecclesiology for the last.

In taking the architecture of the farmhouses first, it should be noticed at once that there are in Hawkshead parish, as in all the fell districts of the Lake country, but very few of really modern construction, a fact which adds value to the subject, for the material at hand is copious. On the other hand, few farms exist which have not been altered; so that what we have to do is to strip away, if we can, these more recent adaptations, and lay bare where possible the original methods and plans, to see what they teach us.

The first thing that strikes us as we approach a fell-side farm is that, as a rule, or at any rate oftener than not, the house fronts either with its face to the fell or along its side. Never—or hardly ever—has it been built especially for a south aspect, or to command the lovely view which generally is to be obtained from the actual site; and very frequently, where a view could be seen from the windows, it has been carefully built out by the barns and outhouses attached to the farm.

The reason is plain: taste in scenery had not been invented

or discovered in the dales when these houses were built. Walling was barely wind-tight, and windows still less so; so that, to men whose lives were on the fells, a snug fireside was deemed better than a view from the parlour window.

The next thing we observe is that the house is white, and the other buildings of the farm grey or blue local stone. The habitation only has been dashed with a thick coating of rough-cast.

Now step first into the house, and then into the barn, and we shall see the reason. It is again snugness (often amounting here to stuffiness), for in the barn the wind whistles through the walling of rough hardly-squared fragments of silurian slate, and flutters the brackens on the floor.

Rough-cast, then, and aspect, had both their good reasons, that of the comfort of the habitants; and rough-cast was universal in the dales because the stone did not lend itself to really good masonry. It was a question whether the walls were to be grouted internally with cement, or dashed externally with rough-cast, and the latter method was adopted because it was simpler and equally efficacious.

That which is simple and efficacious is generally good; and where the exigencies of a damp climate have introduced an architectural method, whether in ancient or modern times, the method is universally satisfactory, and the building thus treated drops naturally into its place as part and parcel of the landscape.

The dalesman's home, then, probably ever since walling was at all understood, has been a pretty white speck on the fell-side. Lake district architects now think they know better, so they grout their walls internally to render them air and damp proof. This they accomplish because they have greater knowledge than the old builders, but they leave their houses, hotels, or farms, ugly plum-coloured blotches which *look* wet through, for no lime shews between the stones, and the wall is all chinks and crannies. But this is by the way.*

* Wordsworth, in his "Description of the Scenery of the Lakes," fell foul of rough-cast; and A. C. Gibson, in "The Old Man," fell foul of Wordsworth on this account. The poet felt only the romance of the hills, but the country doctor knew far more truly the life of the dales and its wants.

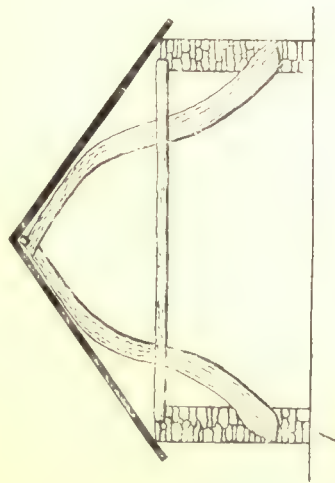
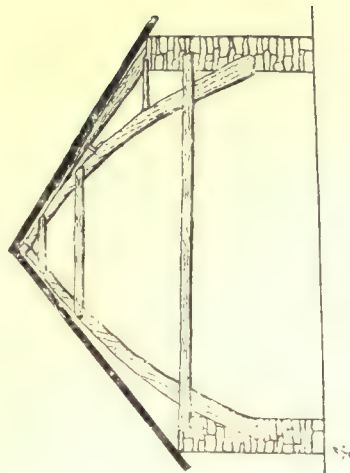
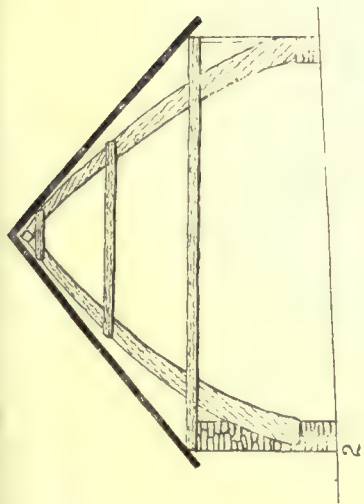
Now if we grope about a few of these farms and farm buildings for a few days we shall find a curious thing. We shall find that there have been two methods of construction adopted, one of which has a much more primitive look about it than the other. Though instances are not very common, we must take this primitive form the first.

The method, and a curious one it is, is found oftener in barns and out-buildings than in the farmhouse itself. Externally, no difference can be noted from other buildings, but, stepping inside, it is at once perceived. In these buildings the principal beams do not rest, as is usual, on the wall-plate, but spring from a footing in the wall, some one to three feet from the ground. Occasionally they actually protrude through the walling, which is built up against them on either side. The beams are oaken, and very massive, and they curve in order to meet at the ridge of the roof. But sometimes this curve is not graduated through the entire length of the beam, but forms a slight shoulder some three or four feet from the ground, or, occasionally, much higher up. They thus form a sort of rude wooden arch; and, if the walls were destroyed, the framework would still stand, and would look something like the ribs of an inverted and dismantled ship.

This type of dwelling is not confined to the Lake District. Whitaker describes something very similar in his "History of Whalley," and the engraving of the hall at Radcliffe Tower in that work shows this method adapted to a house of much higher pretensions. In the Cleveland District it was formerly known, and it is discussed by Canon Atkinson in his "Forty Years in a Moorland Parish," from which we learn that examples are now very scarce.*

On this subject, indeed, Canon Atkinson is very interesting. The examples he describes seem practically identical with those in our parish; but he believes that the external walls are a more modern addition, and that the framework

* "Forty Years in a Moorland Parish," p. 23 *et seq.*



30 feet.
OLD FARMHOUSE CONSTRUCTION.



is all that remains of the original edifices in these houses.

His contention (as we understand it) is that in making these primitive dwellings the framework was set up first, then end walls were built, filling up the two frames, and, lastly, the place was roofed or thatched down to, or nearly down to, the ground; if not quite, the space was filled up with turf or stones. The house was then complete, one roomed, with a single door (in an end wall), and, probably, with a fireplace in the centre of the floor, and a hole in the roof for smoke exit. He conceives that the building up of proper walls to the usual height, and so contriving a roof and windows, were alterations with the advance of civilization and its requirements. This implies a tolerably primitive era of architecture for these buildings; but we feel hardly justified in going quite so far as Mr. Atkinson. There can, indeed, be no doubt that the builders were in all cases following a traditional method of which the archetype was such a house as Mr. Atkinson supposes. But we do not consider it necessary to imagine that all the houses thus constructed were originally one-roomed, and without side walls. Some of the buildings now remaining have several bays, and their length suggests more than one room, if not more than one story. But again, in our cases, where the beams rest on wall plates in the wall, we discern no difference in the walling below the beam end, and that which is above, and we see nothing to shew that such a wall is an addition. We believe, therefore, that in some houses at any rate, the walls were run up outside the beams, and lofts formed inside, making an upper story.

Whether any of the frameworks belong to the primitive one-roomed sidewall-less cottages or not, is, however, not very important. The method here adopted shows that such existed as the earliest peasant dwellings of the district. In these primitive homes, the bones of which may or may not exist, the walls would be of timber, or dab and wattle, or turf only. But in cases where stone was used, it would be

picked from the stream bed, not quarried. For roofing, we imagine some kind of thatching would be in use.*

But the farmhouses we generally see are widely different in construction from those we have described. They stand higher, to the roof tree, and are always two-storied. Generally speaking we have three windows at the front on the ground floor, and three on the upper floor: and a porch, either of enormous flags or else fairly-built masonry, stands a little out of the centre of the building.

These houses are, consequently, plain enough in appearance; for seldom even have the windows mullions, like we see in similar houses in Westmorland. The truth is that no workable stone was here within reach, so the windows were made with oaken mullions, which, in process of time, decaying, have been replaced by sash windows. Here and there a mullioned window is left to show what was the fashion.

Inside, the plan, where it is unaltered, is simple enough. Over the threshold we pass straight into the house or house-place—the hall or common living-room of old days. On the right is an oaken partition separating the house-place from the bower, parlour, or second living-room, and in this partition stands the great carved oaken bread cupboard, part of the house. Facing that is the hearth, and one or two

* Examples of this construction may be seen at a house and barn at Hawkshead Hill, at Hawkshead Field, and in barns at Field Head and Sawrey Ground, and in a barn at Satterhow. See illustration.

Fig. 1. Barn at Field Head, containing four sets of forks. Three of these are in the figure as shown. But the same type, only with an equal curve in the beams, can be seen in an old house, now turned into a stable, at Hawkshead Field.

Fig. 2. Barn at Hawkshead Hill. This building has three pairs of forks, and, consequently, four bays. There is an advance in type here, by the use of a collar beam. Part of the north-east side of this barn has a wooden framing set with upright slabs instead of a stone wall. It is possible that this building is an ancient cottage; but it should be noticed that the farmhouse to which it belongs has been of the same construction.

To this type also belongs a barn near the ruined farm at Satterhow, Far Sawrey, which has, however, only one pair of forks.

Fig. 3 shows one pair of forks in the same barn as figure 1, and is, probably, an alteration. A further advance is shown by the use of extra beams resting on the wall-plate. It seems possible, however, that these form a sort of deputy rafter.

Fig. 4. Barn at Sawrey Ground, which is possibly also an old house. Two pairs of forks and three bays. Here the south wall is higher than that on the north, and an additional beam, mentioned in the last, is used.

windows light the house-place; if two, the smaller in the corner near the hearth, and the larger half-way between the door and the wall. There is a door right opposite the front door, and the staircase generally ascends here on the left; on the right a door leads to the kitchen (if there is one) and pantry.

Of course, this plan has various modifications, and often is exactly reversed, the house-place or hall lying to the right of the entrance, and the parlour to the left.* The staircase and pantry are, however, in a lean-to building thrown out from the back of the building, which without them is in plan a simple parallelogram;† and sometimes this lean-to is expanded into a regular roofed building, with a kitchen and pantry. When this is so it is often an addition, and we think it not improbable that the lean-to, with staircase, is sometimes so also. If so, however, a simple newel would be the method by which originally access was obtained to the loft or upper rooms.

The illustration represents High Satterhow, at Sawrey, now in ruins, but especially interesting as showing a complete yeoman's house of apparently the early seventeenth century, with large additions, probably late in the same century.

The older house occupies all the east end of the building; A is the old house-place and kitchen combined, the front door of which, facing the hill, is now blocked by a flight of steps. Opposite the door a newel stair, in a small chamber projecting

* In "Beauties of England and Wales," Mr. Hodgson has given a technical description of Westmorland farms, which, with notes, was reprinted in "The North Lonsdale Magazine," Vol. III, p. 298. It is useful as preserving certain technical terms for certain parts of the house, as *threshwood* for threshold, the *hallen*, or lobby, and the *heck*, a passage leading into the houseplace. But after careful perusal we are quite unable to reconcile his described plan as that which is typical of both Furness and the Westmorland fells. He makes the chief entrance into the *downhouse*, a sort of lean-to bakery, and the house-place lies on the right of the hallen, or lobby, and divided from it by a central wall, in which is the fireplace. The bower, or parlour, and pantry are put at the opposite end to the downhouse, on the other side of the house-place, and the staircase ascends to the "loft" out of the bower. This would not be far wrong if the front door was put at the end of the house-place next to the bower; but placed where he places it it throws the whole description out. We cannot but think his account is compiled from some single farmhouse which had undergone alterations of plan.

† The back door is sometimes at the stair foot, but sometimes, when the stairs lead up straight opposite, at the top of the first flight. It is thus when the ground rises behind the house, and in small houses is sometimes entirely dispensed with.

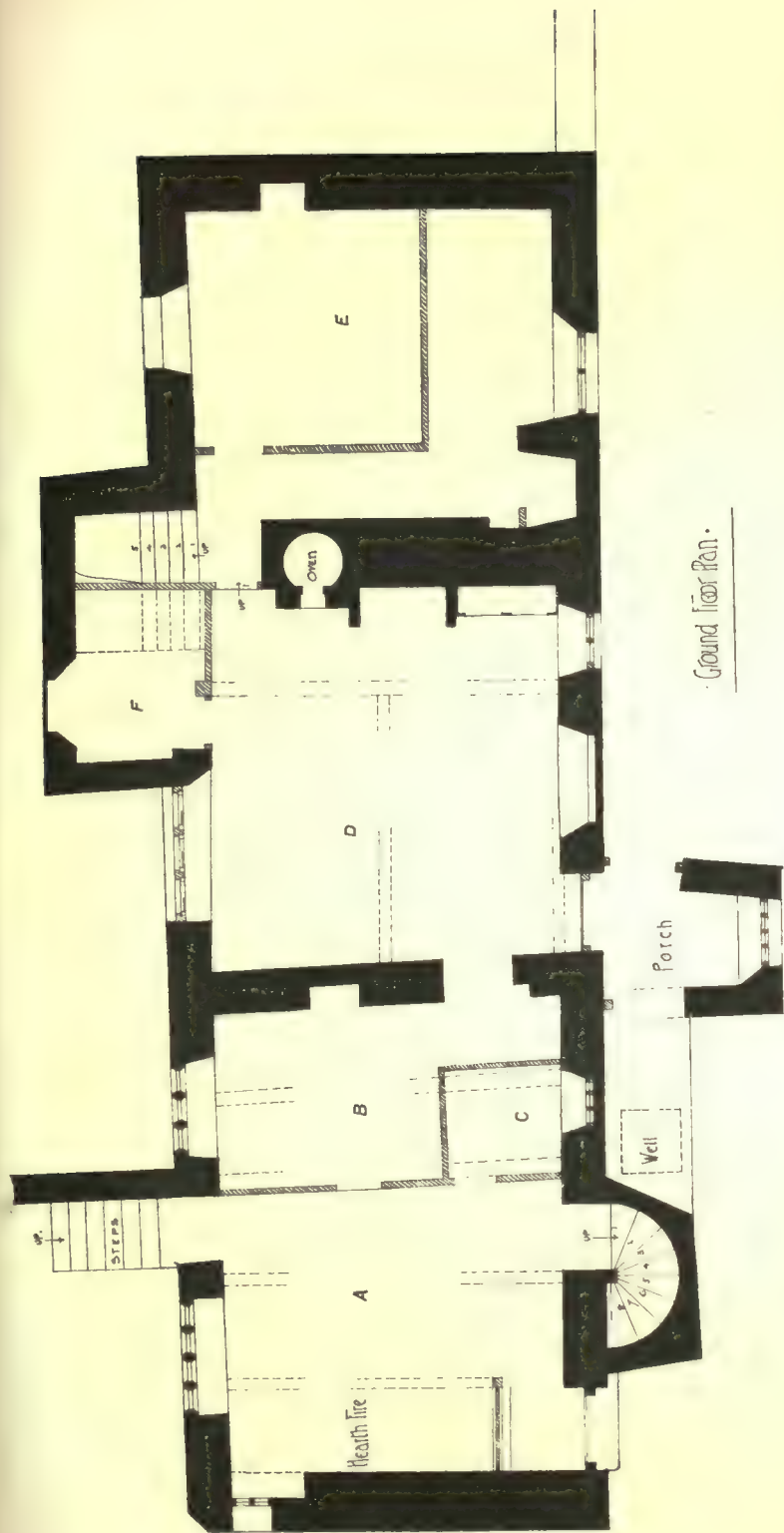
from the line of the wall. Behind the partition lies the old parlour (B), and a smaller room (C), either the chief bedroom or pantry. All this part of the house has solid limestone mullions to its windows, each light divided for security by a central iron bar. A drip moulding is carried over the window and door-head on the south front. D, E, and F is the new house, added later; D is the new house-place, entered by a porch on the north side, with a mullioned window over it. Fireplace, oven, and wicker flue still remain. The pantry (F) is in a lean-to with the staircase, and E is the new parlour. The old house-place (A) was apparently now used as a kitchen. The newer part of the house has oak-mullioned windows, also with central iron bar, and the doors in both parts are of pegged oak. The old partitions are of lath and plaster and oak planks.*

The upper floor in all these old houses was open to the great oaken beams throughout the length of the house, though generally it has been ceiled in modern times. In most farms of any pretensions, however, there was at one end a room divided off by an oaken partition, and here slept the master and mistress. The remainder of the loft was the common sleeping-place of the family and household, of all sexes and ages, and there was no fireplace in the second story at all.

All this is fairly primitive, and perhaps not conducive to good sanitation or morality; yet such is the kernel of nine out of ten farmhouses in the parish. Many have been added to in various ways, obliterating the original plan; the loft has been divided into two or three bedrooms, and fireplaces have been introduced. A lobby has been cut off the house-place by a modern partition, but if we knock out these alterations we generally find the house as described above.

The furniture and appliances of these houses in old days will be dealt with later on. We should, however, note here that the cylindrical chimneys so common in Westmorland are scarce in our parish, except in a few of the larger farmhouses and at the Hall. We find it difficult to account for the absence

* The plan is kindly supplied by Mr. Dan. Gibson, of Marley Lodge, Windermere.



Scale of 0 10 20 30 40 Feet.

PLAN OF HIGH SATTERTHOW.



of this feature,* so characteristic in some of the surrounding districts, but we incline to think that this fashion, which seems to have extended over a considerable period, had died out to a great extent by the time these Hawkshead farmhouses were erected. What this date was we shall now enquire.

We have seen how, by the Code of Customs and Bye-laws of 27 Eliz., the position of the tenant was established. From that date his prosperity indeed steadily increased, so that, about 1650, a fashion for rebuilding set in with such vigour that during the next sixty years nearly every homestead seems



LOW KEENGROUND.

to have been altered or rebuilt. Few houses themselves bear inscribed dates, for the stone did not lend itself to chiselled ornament; but the great oaken bread cupboard, built into the oak partition, remains in many farms, and these, with such

* We think it partly explainable by the fact that most of these houses are built of quarried stones. In districts where the stone quarried badly, or there was a plentiful supply of glaciated or stream-bed gravel, the stones worked better into a cylindrical than a square shape. Round chimneys, however, still are to be seen at the following places, and this list is probably not exhaustive:—Hawkshead Hall and School, Rawlinson Ground, Yew Tree Farm, Thwaitehead, Far Sawrey, Skelwith Fold, The Crag Colthouse, Rookhow (Meeting House), Low Keenground, and High Dale Park. Probably also elsewhere in Colton district.

other chests or articles of furniture as have survived, in nine cases out of ten, bear carved dates between 1650 and 1710.

The reasons for this we need not go far to seek. In the first place, the border warfare, smouldering for a long while and fanned to a flame by Henry VIII. and Wolsey, was destined at last to die out. While the "troubles" and the Civil War held the country in agitation and distress, no small landowner could put his hand to the improvement of his estate, or to the building of a homestead; but the pacification of the Border had commenced at the end of the sixteenth century, and the reduction of Scotland by General Monk, followed by the Restoration of Charles II., in 1660, opened up to the dalesman a prospect more peaceful and encouraging than he had ever yet known. Added to this was the spread of education, consequent on the founding of the Grammar School by Archbishop Sandys, nearly a hundred years before, which we may be sure had by this time told its tale upon the residents of the parish.

At the end of the seventeenth century the men of Furness Fells with one accord pulled down their old, low, dark, and ill-contrived houses, and built those which still stand to-day, and form such a picturesque feature in our landscapes.

The buildings attached to the farms—the byres and shippons—need not detain us long; for there was no regular plan adopted in their disposition, and their size and number depended on the affluence of the dalesman family who owned the farm. A large proportion of them date from the same time as the houses, but the walling is not so good, nor is it rough-cast. It was very usual to build alongside the house a stable and barn, of which the front wall and roof-tree followed the lines of the house, so that it all formed one. But almost equally often we find the house closed in on either side, with barns and buildings projecting from its front, now cosy and sheltered, at a right angle. We know no instance in which a farm was built in a complete quadrangle, as if for strength or defence; and the only signs that security was at all considered are that in a few cases, where the ancient door remains, it is of massive

oak, with great iron or wood studs ; and that where a mullioned window is preserved the lights are very narrow, as if to preclude forcible entry.

Frequently (and within memory of man even more frequently) are, or were to be seen picturesque galleries on these outbuildings, the roof being carried out further than the wall, and then supported by and sheltering a passage-way of strong wooden framework. Or we find a penthouse projecting simply from the wall at a lower level. It has been thought that in these we may possibly trace a survival of Icelandic custom—



WINDOW AT SATTERHOW.

a reminiscence of the outside stairs and galleries which are known to have been built by the Vikings. Such, of course, is possible, but we think no other explanation is necessary than the wetness of the climate, and the smallness of the within-doors accommodation that the people provided themselves with. Under these galleries and penthouses were stored, we imagine, produce and effects which should be kept from rain. Peat fuel was seasoned here ; and, above all, here was hung up to dry the yarn, spun with distaff and wheel, by the busy fingers of the daleswomen.

It was the land of stone-built homestead. No need here for the picturesque timber and plaster cottages which stud the clayey plains of some of our Midlands; yet, strange to say, that method was not actually unknown, and here and there, as at Yew Tree Farm, we find a little piece of such work introduced into an out-building. What such sporadic growths may mean we hardly know. Possibly that the builder of this tenement was a great traveller, who, perhaps, in the course of a wild, mis-spent youth, had wandered far afield to Southern Lancashire, and there had seen the art; for, two hundred years back, a fell farmer who got so far from home must have been either a man of a vagrant turn of mind, or else a prodigal son.

Hall houses and domestic architecture of the wealthier classes are naturally but poorly represented in our parish; though there is matter of interest at Hawkshead Hall, the manor house in monastic days, and at the two Graythwaites and Rusland. The first, indeed, offers some decidedly unusual features.*

The picturesque beauty of this old place, with its rookery, its brawling beck, and its ancient mill has been alluded to elsewhere. But in touching upon the architectural features the first thing we must note is, that what remains is only a portion of what was standing until recently. The grey building on the east with the mullioned window was, until some seven and twenty years ago, joined to the isolated, rough-cast building now used as a cottage, by a low, straight-roofed range of the same local type; and altogether these buildings formed three sides of a quadrangle, which there is some evidence was, at an earlier date, closed in on the fourth side by a wall or more buildings. (See Plate facing p. 22).

The house as it then stood was the home of the Nicholson and Copley families from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth centuries; and although, with the exception of the Court house on the east, the building probably owed its construction in a great measure to the first of these

* For a full description and plan see "Hawkshead Hall," by the present writer, in "Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society," Vol. XI., p. 7.

families, there is evidence that they incorporated some older work of the Abbey period in their alterations and additions.

The first interest of the building, however, now centres in the Court or Gate house, which is altogether of pre-Reformation work; for it consists of a rectangular block, with an entrance or gateway passing through it, and one large room above. The gateway has what is called technically a drop arch of dressed sandstone, with a sculptured keystone,* over which is a lion's head, and over this again a niche which until 1834 contained a seated figure of the Virgin.

On either side of the entrance passage are rooms now used as stables, and that on the south side was probably originally a porter's lodge. These rooms were both entered from the court-yard.

The great room above, forty feet in length, and open to the roof, is entered by an external stair in the north end of the building. It was originally lighted by four trefoil-headed windows, of two lights each, and a large pointed one at the south end, looking towards the road. Only two of the former remain, those on the east side; but the large pointed window with the cinquefoil heads, holes for bars, and grooves for glazing, still remains. The tracery is rather unusual in character, and we should place its date perhaps early in the fifteenth century.

But now comes an architectural puzzle: for although nothing we have yet seen about the court-house seems earlier than the last-mentioned date,† we are confronted by a fire-place of simple design in the east wall, along the edge of which runs the dog-tooth ornament, which is essentially characteristic of the thirteenth century.

Possibly, but not probably, this is an insertion from an older building; but it has every appearance of being in its original position. We have elsewhere observed that the house may have been built during the interdict, on the occasion

* This keystone, being utterly decayed and rotten, was replaced a few years since by an exact reproduction, the weathered stone being removed and built into the wall of the adjacent cottage.

† Except a round-headed doorway into the court-yard, which might belong to either period.

when Honorius granted permission to the convent to celebrate masses at their private altars, assigning for this purpose our Chapelry. We incline, upon the whole, to believe that the court-house *was* then built, but if so it was evidently completely altered in the fifteenth century, and it is even possible that it was not till that date that the archway, making it into a gate-house, was cut through.

The latter supposition, however, is not altogether likely, because the fire-place, if *in situ*, shews that from the beginning a room existed upon the upper floor. The height beneath this is insufficient for a hall or room of importance, and being a monastic building, not a fortress, such a room would be on the ground level, if there were not some reason against it. If it was a gate-house from the first the reason is before us.

There were, however, other buildings here coeval with, if not older than, the present court-house. The portion destroyed consisted of a dining hall and parlour, the latter of which fitted with its north-east angle against the south-west angle of the court-house. The end wall of this building is still standing, and the two buildings were not bonded, whence in ordinary building we should judge that they were not of the same date. And, still more remarkable, the court-house was built on to the angle of the parlour, not *vice versa*, so that the latter building looks as if it must have been standing when the former was erected.

But this want of bond here carries no evidence of priority of date, for all through the court-house we find the same feature, the walls having apparently been run up without any preconcerted plan.

We know, however, nothing further than that at this corner there stood a building which must at least have been as old as the court-house. Probably it was the residential part, consisting of a hall and kitchen. The gate-house building, being entirely devoid of bedrooms, ovens, or other domestic conveniences, was, we may be almost sure, built for the purpose which its present name betokens—the holding of the manor court. There is some evidence that at the south end of the

court-room there was a dais, and that in the angle where the buildings joined, a spiral staircase was constructed, by which the Abbot and dignitaries could enter the court while the tenants approached by the door at the north end.

The remainder of the house was, before mutilation, a typical Lake district hall-house of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. It formed an L-shaped building, the lower limb, which joined the court-house, being the longer, and containing the big house-place or hall, the full width of the building, and also, we believe, originally extending to the rafters. Between this and the court-house lay the parlour, while the other end, the upper part of the L, was occupied by two rooms, one of which was the kitchen. The wall dividing the hall from the kitchen was nine feet thick, for it had not only to contain the great hall fire-place, but also the kitchen ovens. There is a massive oaken staircase in this wing, leading to the upper floor.

Externally there is little of interest except the chimneys, two of which are cylindrical,* while that over the thick wall is a very curious, though rudely built, clustered stack, containing four flues.

The plan of the whole house is so extremely simple, that there is nothing improbable in the idea that the entire building is of early date, though in post-Reformation times the residential part has gradually lost all the features of its earlier existence.

The only thing which remains to notice is the rough work characterizing the entire building. The masonry is the very roughest rubble, formed of boulders and cobbles of all shapes and sizes, many, if not most of which, are unquarried, picked no doubt from the stream-bed. The sandstone facings and windows were, of course, quarried somewhere in the neighbourhood of the parent monastery, but the simplicity of the designs shows possibly that the stones were dressed by local masons, under the supervision of the monks.† Throughout the building

* That nearest the front is, however, a modern addition.

† But, if so, they would have to be instructed in the use of hammer and stone chisel: for we doubt the existence, at this early period, of ashlar masons at Hawkshead.

there is indeed a special character—the result of the sudden contact between high monastic culture and art, and the rude traditional methods of the earlier dalesfolk.

Of the other three houses we need say but little. Graythwaite Hall or Graythwaite High Hall, the old seat of the Sandys family since the fifteenth century, is a good old north-county house of ordinary type, situated low and badly, but in an undulating park. The house has, quite recently, been much altered in appearance by its owner, Colonel T. M. Sandys, who has, however, while adding new sandstone dressings and quoins, not altered the ancient plan of the structure. By tradition, the Colonel tells us, this is the second house on the site, and the plan of the building—a central hall, with dining and drawing rooms on either side—might well be of Elizabethan date, possibly of the time of the Archbishop. The hall, however, is cut down in size, and now contains some seventeenth-century panelling, which is said to have come from Tytup Hall, near Dalton.

Within the house the chief interest is in the valuable series of family portraits preserved in the dining room, among which are pictures of the Archbishop, the poet, and other distinguished members of the family. On the front of the house is an armorial stone, which was removed from another part of the house, and put in its present place during the recent alterations. The arms are those of Sandys, differenced by a crescent, and the shape of the shield is of ornate Elizabethan type. On the sinister side are the initials $\begin{smallmatrix} C \\ E \end{smallmatrix}$, and on the dexter side $\begin{smallmatrix} S \\ C \end{smallmatrix}$, while beneath is the date 1178.

Of course this date has given rise to all sorts of speculations. Some antiquaries, ignoring the character of the work, the shape of the shield, and the use of Arabic numerals, have contented themselves with saying the stone must have come from the older home of the family in Cumberland. Others, with greater probability, think it chronicles some date preserved in the family, the meaning of which has been forgotten. But there now appears no record of the family prior to 1377.

In examining this stone we expected to detect a mutilated second figure, and to find that it had originally been an Elizabethan 5. But this does not seem to be the case, and we cannot suggest the reason for placing this early date upon the stone.* We would, however, suggest that the initials may well be those of Christopher, Edwin, and Cicely Sandys. The first-named was resident at Graythwaite after about 1551, and according to one account his wife was Cicely Carus. Edwin, his brother, the Archbishop, used the crescent on his arms, and his second wife's name was certainly Cicely; and we think that Christopher, the resident squire, and his illustrious brother, repaired or rebuilt the hall, though what they intended to convey by the date, if it has always been what it now appears, we cannot hazard a guess.

Graythwaite, or Graythwaite Low Hall, is a place of a very different character. It lies close to the Hawkshead and Lakeside Road, on to which it directly faces, and although a perfectly plain, almost factory-like block in appearance, is yet very charming from its old-fashioned garden, its ivied walls, and its large barns built close to the house, with wrought-iron vane initialled and dated.

It is difficult to give a date to this house. It belonged to the Sawreys in the time of Henry VIII., and from them it passed to the Rawlinsons, who have owned and generally occupied it since. The house is in plan like the letter T, the stem of which, now containing the kitchens, may possibly be older than the crossbar which now forms the front. But the plan of internal arrangement does not tell us much, for such houses of the lesser gentry from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century varied but little. The front of the house has a spacious but low hall, with narrow stairway and a huge open hearth, and on either side are pleasant parlours. The house is three stories high, and the oak balusters of the stairs lead to the attics, which shows that this has always been the case. The windows are formal upright openings, and the general style of this part suggests no greater

* The stone is now (1897) painted, but the figures are very clear.

antiquity than the seventeenth century, although it is possible that its appearance may be due only to considerable alterations about this date. Probably at one time the windows were fitted with oaken or stone mullions; but the absolute lack of architectural detail makes it impossible to assign certain dates to any parts of this charming old residence.

The other hall houses in the parish are architecturally unimportant, and have been mentioned before. Rusland Hall, perhaps of the time of Charles II., is the most interesting; but Grisedale Hall, at one time a house of the Rawlinsons, is now a comparatively modern farmhouse. Esthwaite Hall and Colton Hall, or "Old Hall," at Bouth, were both residences of the Sandys family. The former is partly demolished, and its original plan untraceable; while the latter is a totally uninteresting structure, having been modernized into cottages. It was never, however, probably a place of any pretensions.

ECCLESIOLOGY.

Elsewhere we have described the church, so we now pass to the various curiosities connected with it.

If we enter the church and walk straight up the north aisle, which is believed to have been rebuilt by the Archbishop, we come to "the little quire or chancel" of the Sandys family of Graythwaite, this being a portion of the east end of the aisle, divided off by a tasteful oaken screen. No doubt this private chapel was reserved for the use of his family by the Archbishop when he rebuilt the aisle, and a private entrance into the "loose box," as it is irreverently termed, was also made, over which are the Sandys arms, and the initials, E. S., with the date, 1578, showing who was the builder.* Within the screen, and with the end towards the east wall, is a large table monument of considerable interest, for it was erected by the Archbishop to the memory of his father and mother, William Sandys, of Graythwaite (Receiver-General of the Liberties of Furness), and his wife, Margaret,

* The character of the work is very similar to that of the Graythwaite date stone, and is most probably by the same mason. Is it possible that the latter was a spoiled stone meant for the church? The date is the same except one figure.



From a Photo, by Mr. H. Bell.

GRAYTHWAITE LOW HALL (SOUTH VIEW).



daughter of John Dixon, by Anne his wife, daughter of Thomas Roos, of Witherslack.

Upon this monument, with their feet to the east, lie the sculptured figures of the old Furness squire and his wife. The work is rude and rough, unlike many of the beautiful effigies to be found in our southern counties, and the figures lie but half cut from the freestone—a sort of mezzo-relievo, it may be termed. The squire and his wife are placed both with their hands pressed together, as if in prayer. Late as the period is, he is in a complete suit of armour, with his head on a cushion and a lion at his feet. The lady's dress is equally shown in detail, but in place of the lion a lapdog supports her feet. As is usual, she is placed on the left hand of her lord.*

On the fillet round the figures is the following inscription, written, it is thought, by the Archbishop himself:—

South side.

CODIT^R · HOC TVMVLO · GVLIELM^º · SAND^º · ET · VXOR ·
CVI · MARGARETAE · NOMEN · ET · OMEN · ERAT
ARMIGER · ILLE · FVIT · PCHAR^º · REGIB^º · OLIM ·
ILLA · SED · EXEMPLAR · RELIGIOIS · ERAT ·

East side.

CONIVGII · FVERANT · AEQVALI · SORTE · BEATI ·
FOELICES · OPIBUS · STEMMATE · PROLE · FIDE ·

North side.

PIGNORA · DIVI · FVERAT · HAEC · MAGNA · FAVORIS ·
HAEC TAMÉ · EDWINI · CVCTA · RETVDIT · HONOS ·
QVI · DOCTO^R · RECT^{OR}q⁵ · SCHOLAE · CÉS^{OR} · Q q⁵ · P^rSVL ·
TER · FVERAT · MERITO · PHOEB^º · IN · ORBE · SACRO ·

* William Sandys is represented with the vizor of his helmet raised, and in armour composed of a gorget of plate, cuirass, pauldrons, brassarts, cotes, vambraces, gauntlets, short straight-edged skirt of taces (without either tuilles, tassets, or mail skirt), cuisses, genouillieres, jambarts, and round-toed sollarets, all of plate. The pauldrons, cotes, and genouillieres are each composed of several plates. On his left hangs a cross-handled sword, suspended by a horizontal hip-belt, which passes round the waist at the top of the skirt of taces; and on his right is a misericorde bearing three small knives in the sheath. The lady wears on her head a curious hood, which falls in folds over her shoulders. She is dressed in a gown with tight sleeves, gathered in round the waist by a girdle formed of a cord which hangs down in front, and ends in two tassels. The gown is closed down the front and extends up to the throat. By her sides hang long false sleeves coming from under her hood and unconnected with her arms.

West side.

QVOS · AMOR · ET · PIETAS · LECTO · CŌIVXIT · EODĒ ·
HOS · SVB · SPE · VITAE · CŌTINET · ISTE · LAPIS ·

This inscription has been thus rendered into English verse by Dr. J. E. Sandys, of S. John's College, Cambridge the public orator for that University:—

Buried beneath this tomb lie William Sandys and his Consort,
Margaret; happy her name; happy her name and her fame;
He an Esquire who rejoiced in his day in the favour of Princes;
She a Pattern to all, holy and saintly in life.

Happy were they in their home, in the equal lot of their
wedlock;

Blest in their wealth and their faith; blest in their sires
and their sons.

Great were the pledges of favour divine they received in
abundance;

Greatest of all was the fame won them by Edwin their son.
Doctor was he, and Proctor, and Head of a College at Cam-
bridge:

Thrice as a Bishop enthroned, thrice was he Head of a See.

They that were one in their life, and their love, and their
hallowed affection,

Resting beneath this stone wait for the life for to come.

Upon the head and sides of the tomb are the arms of Sandys,* with the initials E S on either side of the shield. Formerly, as we learn from West, these arms were in stained-glass in the north window of the chapel, impaled with those of Dixon, and on a label, "William married Margaret."

We need not linger over the other monuments in the church, except to notice the huge and ornate mural tablets on each side of the tower arch. It is easy to see that these are not local work; and their history is curious. They commemorate two of the Rawlinsons—Daniel, a merchant, who died in 1629, and Sir Thomas, his son, Lord Mayor of London in 1706; and it was only subsequent to 1878 that they were

* With crosses pattées fitchées instead of crosslets, which is the usual bearing.



— THE SANDYS MONUMENT, HAWKSHEAD. —



transferred to Hawkshead from the destroyed St. Dionis Back-church, in London. As their ponderous later inscriptions have been elsewhere printed,* and of the worthies of this family we must treat anon, let us pass through the tower arch screen and examine the old parish chest.

This very interesting old chest probably dates from the commencement of the seventeenth century. On the 25th October, 1597, a constitution was made by the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of Canterbury concerning the better keeping and preservation of the Parish Registers. In this we find the following clause:—

“*Neque vero in unius cujusdam custodia librum illum, sed in cista publica, eaque trifariam obserata reservandum putamus, ita ut neque sine ministro gardiani nec sive utrisque gardianis minister quicquam possit innovare.*”†

The ordinances of this constitution were also embodied in an ecclesiastical mandate of 1603, where it is enacted:—

“And for the safe keeping of the said book, the churchwardens, at the charge of the parish, shall provide one sure coffer with three locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with the minister, and the other two with the churchwardens severally, so that neither the minister without the two churchwardens, nor the churchwardens without the minister, shall at any time take the book out of the said coffer.”

Our old chest is the “sure coffer with three locks,” which was obtained in obedience to this mandate. It is made of a vast oaken beam six feet eight inches long and sixteen inches deep; but the box cavity is only three feet in length, and we have no doubt that the intention in using such a huge mass of wood for so small a receptacle was as a precaution against theft. Here, in fact, we find a primitive form of safe—burglar proof, no doubt, in those days, if not fireproof.

The lid is crossed by three stout oaken bands, which are connected to others at the back by a hinge. From them over

* In the present writer's “*Monumental Inscriptions of Hawkshead Parish*,” 1892. Nos. 122 and 124.

† See Burns' “*History of Parish Registers*,” 1852, p. 23.

the front hang three other bands, which can be secured to strong staples by the old-fashioned padlock. It is of course long since the registers were kept in this patriarchal coffer, but it is *not* long since we rescued from the mass of rubbish it still holds a large number of most valuable "burial in woolen" certificates sadly injured by damp.*

This type of chest is not unique. One, smaller, belongs to the Grammar School, and was made in accordance with the original Statute. In this case the letters-patent of the foundation and other documents were to be kept in it, and the keys were to be held respectively by two of the governors and the schoolmaster. Another similar chest belongs to Satterthwaite Church.

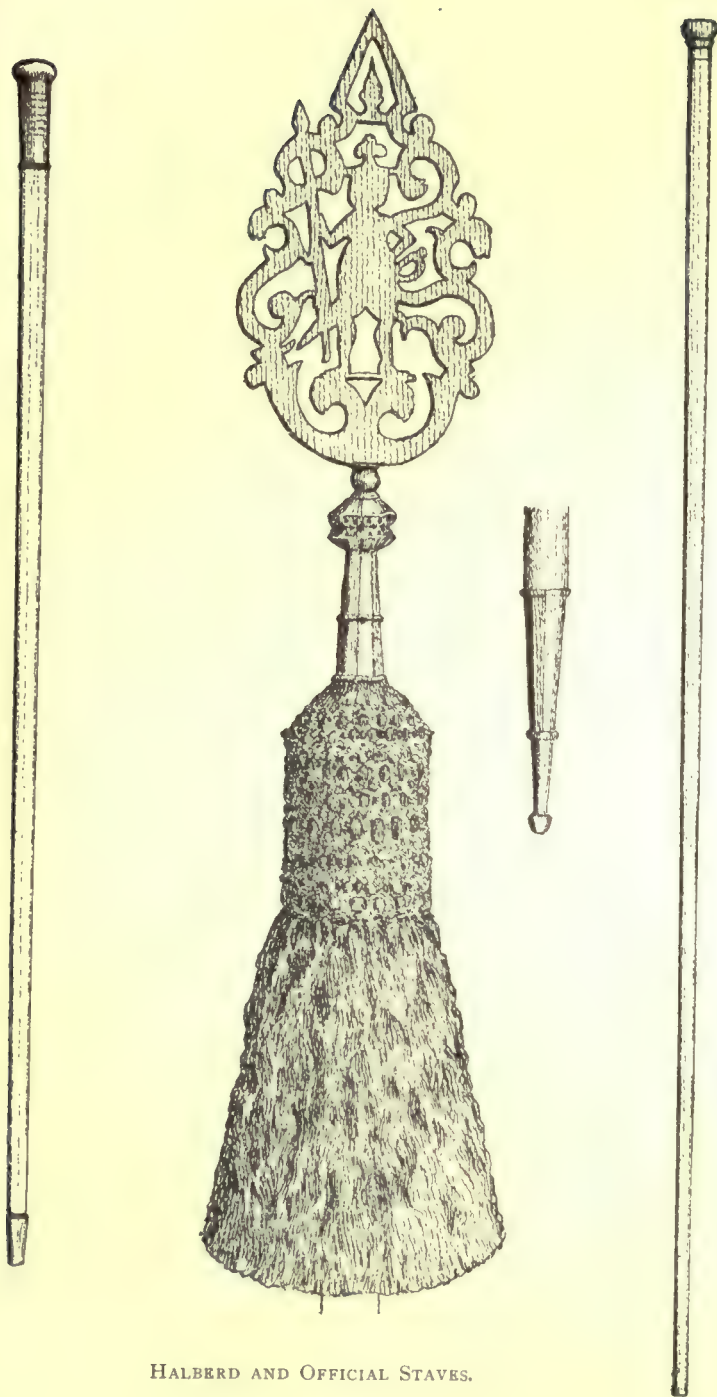
There are still preserved at the Vicarage three curious staves and a handsome malacca cane, which were in days gone by the insignia of the parochial officials. The most interesting is a wooden staff, finished at the lower end with a ferrule, and at the top with a pierced metal halberd. The staff is painted black, and the total length, with the head, is five feet four and a half inches.

The pierced iron head is thickly gilt, the gilding being either a later addition, or it has been renewed. In design it represents a pikeman with a plumed helmet, his pike in his right hand, a sword with a guard, slung on his left, and habited in trunk hose and stockings. It can be seen that beneath the thick gilding the metal has had shallow chasing, showing the buttons and other detail of costume.

Below the head comes the socket, ornamented with a pierced hollow knob, and beneath this is a heavy tassel, the upper part of which is embroidered with silver thread over a thick roll of felt. The tassel fringe is of yellow and red silk, with a few silver wires in it.

The costume of the figure gives the approximate date of this staff, which is about 1610. Although pikemen were still habited

* Now mounted in a book by the present writer and indexed. See a list in "The Oldest Register Book of the Parish of Hawkshead," p. 395.



HALBERD AND OFFICIAL STAVES.

much the same for twenty-five years or so later, the trunk hose became gradually less wide and baggy.

The other two staves are of the same age and wood, but they have no ferrules, and are finished at the top with a plain wooden knob painted yellow. They appear to have originally been five and a half feet in length, but have each lost about an inch.

The cane is a beautiful malacca, measuring 3 feet 10½ inches, and surmounted with a massive silver knob, inscribed "*Hoc et alteru Dona Dan Rawlinson cives et Ocnopolæ London guardianis ecclesiæ Hauxoniensis servand et Seneschallis nundinar ibidem pro tempore existen successive in perpetuum post leiturgium Anglican in eadem habit utend, et usu eorund quolibet opportuno tempore habit eisdem restituend,*" which Dr. Sandys has thus translated: "This staff and its fellow are the gifts of Daniel Rawlinson, citizen and vintner of the city of London, to be kept by the churchwardens of Hawkshead Church, and to be used in perpetuity, after the service in the said church, by the successive stewards of the market held at Hawkshead for the time being, and after use to be returned to the churchwardens at some convenient season."


The interest of the inscription lies in the fact that it tells of another staff of the same date, which is now lost, and gives also a clue as to the way the older set of staves were used. The malaccas it seems served a double purpose: firstly, they were used each Sunday as churchwardens' insignia, and then were handed to the stewards of the weekly Monday market, whose duty was no doubt to maintain order, and who carried these canes as badges of their office. Now, the letters-patent for Hawkshead market were obtained by Adam Sandys, who died in 1608, which is close to the date we have assigned to the halberd. We therefore conjecture that the older set were given by the Sandys family soon after the institution of the market, and that Daniel Rawlinson (d. 1679) gave the new malaccas to fulfil the same purposes, considering perhaps the original ones given by the ancestors of his neighbours the Sandys as obsolete and out of fashion. This was only one instance of the good-natured rivalry which seems always to

have existed between the two families who lived only a stone's throw apart.

As we have touched on the market, we may notice here two curious bell-metal measures which according to Mr. A. Craig Gibson were discovered in clearing rubbish from a building near the church.* They are respectively the quart and pint, excellently made old flagons, and very massive and heavy. The quart is $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches in height, with a handle, but the pint is like a tumbler, with no handle. There can be little doubt that these were originally the standard market measures, and we believe that it was the rule that such measures should be kept in the church.†

The church was provided with a new peal of bells in 1765, and these, with their quaint rhyming inscriptions, are worth examination, but we shall have something to say about them in the chapter about the parish accounts. The communion plate, both of Hawkshead and Satterthwaite, has little special interest, being of eighteenth century work. As both sets are fully described in "Old Church Plate of the Diocese of Carlisle,"‡ we spare our readers a repetition here.

At Colton, however, there is a valuable Elizabethan chalice and paten, with the date mark 1571-2. Colton is indeed worth a visit for another relic, a pre-Reformation bell, inscribed "✠ Campana beati Johannes Appli"—The bell of Saint John the Apostle—which inscription raises a question if the bell was

* These vessels are punch-marked on the rim, first with a monogram of a W between two R's () beneath a crown, and secondly with a chequé pattern; but we do not know what marks were in use for bronze or bell-metal. These vessels are mentioned in "Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle," 1882, p. 253, but the writer of this section incorrectly describes the first mark on the quart measure as "Crowned initials surmounting a cross stave," and the same mark on the pint as "R over a crown, of which the punch has slipped, and three sides of a rectangle." Others have called the chequé pattern a portcullis.

† See Canon Rawnsley in "Old Church Plate of the Diocese of Carlisle," p. 254. A quart measure of this sort was formerly used in Ravenstonedale.

‡ Pp. 202, 252, and 256. We should, however, note an error in this work. The terrier of 1783 specifies the pewter set as consisting of two flagons and a dish, but the editor describes one flagon as missing. Both are, however, now forthcoming: and curiously a pewter chalice was found by the writer's brother in a stable at Hawkshead Hall, where service was held during the church restoration. No pewter chalice is mentioned in the terrier, but it must have existed, and the pewter set being used at the Hall, it seems to have been mislaid there and forgotten. This vessel, which we do not doubt belongs to the pewter set, is at present in the possession of the writer's brother.

originally made for Colton, the church being dedicated to the Holy Trinity. It appears, however, that church bells were sometimes dedicated differently to the church they hung in, a similar case being found at Dacre. It is conjectured that the Colton bell is the work of John de Kirkham, a York founder towards the end of the fourteenth century, to whom several bells in the north with similar inscriptions are attributed.*

Another curiosity connected with the church is the old pitch-pipe, the payment for which is given in the parish accounts. It has a brass scale, bearing the date 1764. There is also in the writer's possession a fine old key, which was found some



BELL-METAL MARKET MEASURES.

years ago in clearing out a cellar in the house now occupied by Mr. Simon, close to the church. It is $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, and very heavy, and within the ring of the handle is a sort of rude *fleur-de-lis*. The house was formerly occupied by Mr. Watson, who was a churchwarden, and it seems likely that this key belonged to one of the doors of the church before it was

* The font at Colton, a large octagonal one, was turned up in 1889 serving as a base for the one that had then been in use for 178 years. It was re-erected, but unfortunately not before it had been re-dressed by over-keen masons in the Vicar's absence. When Hawkshead Church was restored, the old font was *buried in the churchyard*. As far as we can learn it was a poor affair of no antiquity, but it seems an odd way to treat a font.

restored. Though of rude work the type of the key does not appear older than the seventeenth century.

We cannot dismiss the subject of parochial curios without mentioning the Grammar School seal. It is of silver, of massive work, with a diameter of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The engraved design is curious and of great interest. In the centre, upon a large armchair, we see seated the schoolmaster, "a pedagogue in his glory," cap on head, and magnificent with a long flowing robe. With his left hand raised he admonishes the poor little knickerbockered pupil, who with open book stands trembling before him, while with his right he brandishes a formidable birch rod. On the master's right are the arms of the See of York, and on his left the family arms of Sandys, while above on a tablet is the motto

DOCE NDO

DI&CIMVS

and on a scroll surrounding the figures

SIGILLVM LIBERÆ SCHOLÆ GRAMATIC EDWYNI
SAVDES EBORACENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI EVIDATORIS

The work of the seal is good and careful for the period, and it is queer to observe how numerous the errors are in the inscription, chiefly in omitting to reverse the letters S and N.

BRIC-A-BRAC.

Those who have been at any pains to really learn about life in England in the past, must, the deeper they dive into the fascinating study, become more and more struck with the absolute change in rural life, even in remote districts, since the commencement of the present century. Of course, we continually meet survivals, often very remarkable ones, of most primitive usages and appliances. These are, as Dr. Mitchell aptly terms them, evidences of the "past in the present," but, taking a broad view, it is sheer nonsense to talk of "the old country life" as still extant. Survivals may be numerous, and often are intensely important to the student, but they are the merest drop in the ocean compared with the sweeping changes

which we see on all sides. Yet it is this very fact which renders it so desirable to gather up every item of evidence existing about old country life. To the young student of local history we would say, "Do not be carried away by the enthusiasm of those learned archæologists who must pooh-pooh everything that is not pre-Adamite, Roman, or Early Mediæval. Never think a subject does not merit thrashing out because it is recent. If it is local history, manners, customs, superstitions, or what not, you cannot thrash it too hard, since, though the evidence may be obtainable to-day, to-morrow it may be forgotten."

We have dealt in some way with the farmhouse as it is and was, and now we shall show, as well as we can, how these houses were fitted and furnished; and we shall indicate a few of the numerous appliances which were in use in domestic life and in farming and other operations, but which, owing to the civilizing power of steam traffic, and the consequent introduction of improvements and inventions, have disappeared either entirely, or are only to be found amidst the farm lumber. Such objects may be conveniently called neo-archaics, and there are some such, which, though in regular use fifty years ago, would not be recognised at all if now shown to a farm-lad.

Domestic life in communities, not necessarily primitive, but lacking the refinement of high culture, has always centred round the hearth, insomuch that the "domestic hearth" as a term has almost the same meaning as "home": and thus it became the special feature of northern climates, in which the hearth was not only necessary for the preparation of food, but added so much to the warmth and comfort of the inmates.

In the simpler type of farmhouse, the house-place and kitchen were one, and the hearth, often perhaps the only one in the house, stood at the end of the room, right opposite the oaken press. There were, however, two sorts, and we are not able to say if the fashions did or did not prevail at the same period. The simplest was a vast cavity at least half, and often three-quarters, of the width of the room, and of sufficient depth to place chairs within its recess on either side of the turf fire.

It did not extend quite the height of the room, and the lintel was either horizontal or with a very slight segmental arch.

In the other kind the hearth projected into the house-place, and the flue was built into the loft, by which a considerable amount of room was lost in both cases. The hearth back was the wall, from which the hearthstone projected, and the flue, pyramidal in form, was built of lath and plaster, and descended only to the floor of the loft, which had the necessary aperture left, about four to six feet wide, for the smoke—a mighty uneconomical and inflammable construction.

Very few of either of these types, since the introduction of grates and kitchen ranges, remain; but here and there in an abandoned farm we can find them, and if we peer up the smoky chimney we can see the “rannel balk,” or cross-beam, which, firmly fixed across the chimney at the level of the loft floor, served for suspending the ratten or racon-crook.* This latter was a chain or rod so arranged with hooks that its length could be regulated as required in cooking. Here, too, might we find the brandreth or brandiron, a small iron tripod, which, placed over the fire, supported an iron plate rather over two feet in diameter, on which was baked the appetizing haver-bread (oat-cake). The plate is the girdle or girdle-plate.

At the back of the fire sometimes stood against the wall a cast-iron plate initialled and dated,† and at either side rough cast-iron fire-dogs or andirons. Spits and toasters of various sorts were in use, some in the bigger houses consisting of two upright bipedal standards, with hooks, which supported a rod—sometimes six feet long—on which the meat was secured to hooks, and then revolved by a handle. Others for toasting cakes and bread were small affairs with three or four sets of double prongs, and sometimes arranged to elevate or lower, according to the heat of the fire. In Northumberland these

* Originally racon or racken-crook because it could be racked out to any length (*cf.* ratchet reach, etc.), and in old documents thus spelled; but by corruption turned to ratten-crook or the “rats-swing.”

† They do not seem to have been common. One with initials and three figures is to be seen at Keenground, and a very fine one at Graythwaite Low Hall; another at Miss Willson’s house at Highway.



From a Photo, by Mr. H. Bell.

GRATE AND FIREBACK AT GRAYTHWAITE LOW HALL.

were called *bake-sticks*, and in Cumberland they were shaped like a dog and called *toast-dogs*.

From toast-dogs and fire-dogs it is not a far cry to the fire-cat, an ingenious appliance made of a wooden ball and six legs of turned wood. On three of the legs was placed a plate of buttered toast, or anything else, to keep warm, while the other three legs supported it. The fire-cat—a most useful thing—seems quite obsolete in the Lakes, though once quite common, and often constructed of brass, to be seen in modern drawing-rooms at the present day. The meaning of the name is obvious, for, however you may throw it, it alights upon its feet.

When the Furness Fells farmsteads were rebuilt, during the latter half of the seventeenth century, they were furnished to match. Here and there we find a chest, or chair as early as 1610-1620, but they are anything but common. Indeed, even of examples of the last half of the century, few except those that were fixtures remain. Up to the time when the fashion for collecting old oak, china, and bric-a-brac set in, there were few fell farms which had not their heirlooms in the shape of rudely-carved chairs, tables, settles and chests. But the opening up of the Lakes as a pleasure resort, the growth of centres like Bowness and Ambleside, attracted not only visitors but dealers, and twenty years have made a terrible sweep-out of these relics. The worst of it is, however, that the dealers are not content with buying up and selling out of the district really good examples, but they purchase the rougher made, the dilapidated, or the uncarved pieces, and "fettle" them up into totally alien forms, carving and dating them with ancient dates and initials. These fabrications are generally, but not always, easily recognizable by a practised eye, but the most fabulous and idiotic prices are given for them by the wealthy Manchester "offcomes," who build their villas round Windermere, and wish to "sport their oak" in true old English style. This *neo-archaic* school of furniture may be recognizable now to the initiated, but how will it be a hundred years hence? We fear that the

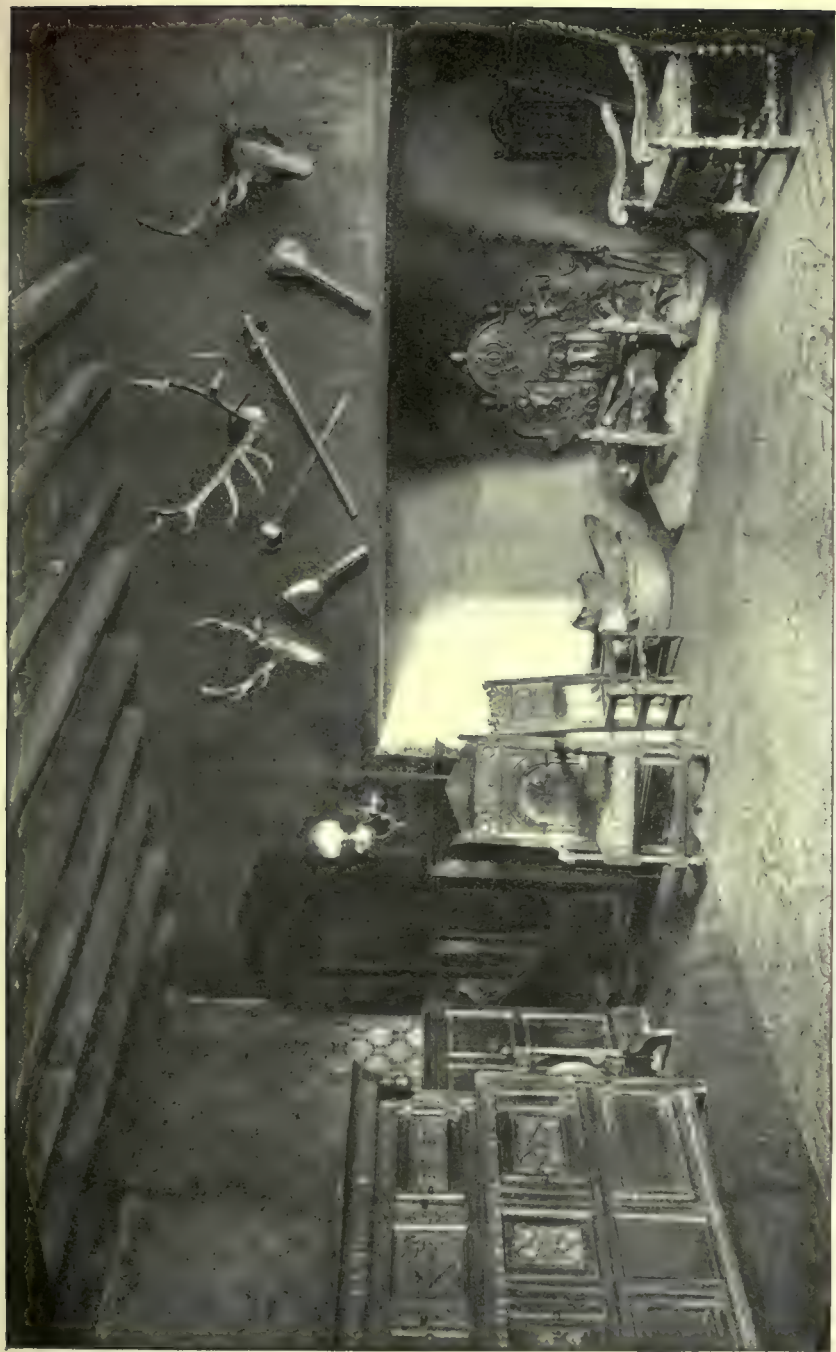
museums of that day will exhibit many an example of seventeenth century furniture manufactured in the nineteenth.

The principal articles of furniture were (1) the long table, (2) the bread cupboard and locker, (3) the settle, (4) the sconce, (5) chests, (6) chairs, (7) the clock.

The long table was the board or hall table of old England: and its use was dying out when the fell farms were rebuilt. We still talk of a man's hospitable "board," and of "board and lodging," because originally this table was a huge board laid on three trestles. In our north-country farms it was placed alongside the wall, beneath the window in the house place, and its length depended on the size of the room. It had two or three pair of turned legs, joined near the foot by a continuous rail. All the occupants of the house sat down together at meals to it. Very few examples remain in Hawkshead, though they are common in Westmorland farms,* and it seems very probable that when the Hawkshead farms were rebuilt, the great table fashion had partly died out. It was succeeded by the eight-legged circular or oval table with leaves or flaps, which could be elevated, and supported by the folding legs. This form is indeed only the long table curtailed to four legs, and then the leaves added. Such an example we own, of very massive work, and dating apparently from early in the seventeenth century, which has undergone this transformation.

The oak press or bread cupboard was perhaps the most characteristic article of furniture. It stood, as we have said, right opposite the hearth in the house-place, and as a rule was fixed into the oaken partition which divided that room from the parlour. Consequently many are still left in the farmhouses, for they are part of the building, and when the 'statesmen sold their little estates, they went with them, and became the landlord's property. Most of these cupboards are very similar. They are generally about five feet square, although a few fill up the whole height from floor to ceiling. Some are let in with their front flush with the wall, the

* They are often so immense that probably they were put together inside the house.



From a Photo. by Mr. H. Bell.

INTERIOR OF GRAYTHWAITE LOW HALL.



back projecting into the parlour; but, in other cases, the projection is in the house-place. In shape they have three tiers of cupboards, the two lower having plain panels, with the top rail sometimes carved: there is then a ledge four or five inches wide, where the front is set back. The upper cupboards have in most examples carved panels, and above these there is a projecting carved cornice with pendent knobs at each end; but in a few examples these knobs are exchanged for spiral or other balusters.* The date and initials, which often are really those of the rebuilding of the farm, are generally to be found on the cornice or lower rail: and the original use of this piece of furniture was, as its name betokens, to store the oat-bread in. Probably the older houses had a similarly situated, but much ruder, piece of furniture in the same position.

The long-settle stood by the fireside, the seat no doubt of master and mistress in origin. Very few now remain, and on the examples we have seen, there is seldom much carving, unless it be on the top rail. The settle as a rule was about six feet long, with a back very upright and panelled in three or four compartments. The seat part was like a plain chest, and often was such; part of bench being cut and hinged for a lid. Well cushioned, it might be cosy, but hardly comfortable. The settle is no doubt the direct descendant of the Norse Vikings' high-seat, or seat of honour, so often described in the Sagas: and we cannot but regret its disappearance from the old farmhouses.†

The locker was a small cupboard fixed in the wall with a panelled front often dated and initialled, and sometimes finely carved. Its position was in the end wall of the house-

* A fine example of this larger type, alluded to elsewhere, is at Yew Tree Farm in Yewdale. As a general rule, it may be remarked that bread cupboards of this district, whether found in farmhouses, or in a dealer's shop, are not in their original condition if the lower panels are carved.

† See the engravings of old Norse high seats in Du Chaillu's "The Viking Age," II., p. 254 *et seq.* The *Sconce* described in the Lonsdale Magazine (III., p. 289 and 291) seems to have been a sort of additional settle, sometimes opposite and sometimes next to the long-settle, which could be drawn in front of the fire. But we believe the term was often applied to a bench within the ingle-nook alongside the fire.

place between the hearth and front wall. Being a fixture, a good many remain.

Chairs may be dismissed quickly, because to all intents and purposes they no longer exist in the district. The shapes also were much the same as the seventeenth century chairs of other districts. There was the type with a square-panelled carved back: and another in which the backs were high and formed of moulded parallel upright laths of oak. Another shape had the back made of three upright oaken bars, on the top of which was fixed a horizontal cross-piece. This pattern prevailed over a very long period, for in the writer's possession are examples, dated 1629 and 1762, both obtained in the parish. Arm-chairs also existed, differing in little except in the arms from the ordinary sort. And in nearly all the varieties the front legs were turned, while the back ones were square. Horizontal rails between the legs added much to the strength. Carved oaken four-post bedsteads may possibly have existed in some of the houses of the larger 'statesmen, but we know of none such remaining: nor does the very limited and primitive arrangements of the sleeping-loft lead us to believe that such were in general use,* and we are not aware of a single example left of the old carved cradle. The oaken chests, sometimes richly carved over the entire front, but more often with a running pattern and date and initials only on the rail, are still to be found, and the number that exist shows that formerly they must have been in great request. Though generally termed "kists" the full name is "linen kist," which shows their original purpose. Many of these kists were made to contain the dower of the daughters of the house on marriage; and as such they seem to have been handed down in the family as heirlooms.

Every house had one or more grandfathers' clocks, dignified old time-keepers, generally winding by the weight-chain every

* In the writer's possession is an old oak bedstead bought in Bouth. The back is uncarved but with very deep moulded panels, while the foot posts are massive turned balusters. It came originally from Kirkby in Furness, and no doubt a few of the better-to-do 'statesmen in the fells possessed such.

twenty-four hours. Though at one time Hawkshead boasted its own clockmaker, the supply of clocks for Lancashire north of the Sands, and a large tract of Westmorland, seems to have been almost at one time a monopoly of Jonas Barber, of Winster. We do not know if Barber was born in Westmorland, but in 1682 he was admitted a member of the Clockmakers' Company, being then described of Ratcliffe Cross. By that time he had probably made his reputation, so that we may conclude that his clocks range generally over the last half of the seventeenth century. They are still very common in the district,* but we doubt very much if a single example exists in which the case originally had any carving.

There is little else in furniture we need notice.† The spinning-wheel, once common, has entirely disappeared, though two centuries ago it must have been most common. Few of the cupboards or kists were originally made with locks, but sometimes the 'statesman had a very primitive sort of safe for his title deeds and other valuables. This was a very strongly-made box of oak, uncarved, and strongly bound with iron and attached by a short but ponderous chain to the wall, so that it could not be removed. Occasionally, the door-locks were dated, and we have elsewhere noticed an instance in Yewdale.

The room partitions of oak, where they exist, are not regularly panelled as in better-class houses. They consist of planks of

* The history of local clock-making remains to be worked out. The clocks of Jonas Barber commence with brass dials with but little engraving, and an hour hand only. Then more artistic dials and hour and minute hands. Some of his instruments, probably of a later date, have white enamelled dials. We have seen one example with the case dated G.R., 1657, which probably shows he was working as early as that date.

Most of Barber's local clocks are wound every twenty-four hours by the chain. But he sometimes made elaborate instruments, winding by the key every eight days, and with chiming and repeating movement. Philipson, of Winster, most of whose clocks have enamelled dials, may have succeeded him in the local manufacture.

We have seen well-made twenty-four hour clocks, by two Hawkshead makers, John Braithwaite and Thomas Burton, but there is nothing unusual about them. But some of these country makers turned out remarkable timekeepers. Thomas Ponson, of Kendal, of whom we have no further record, made at least one key-winding clock, which ran for a month. The dial, elaborately engraved, was triple, two small ones on the face of a large one. Each had one hand; that on the large dial marking the minutes, while those on the upper and lower of the small dials respectively indicate the seconds and the hour. Bracket clocks were made by Kendal makers at least as early as 1654.

† Of the designs and character of the carving on the furniture, we treat in Chapter V.

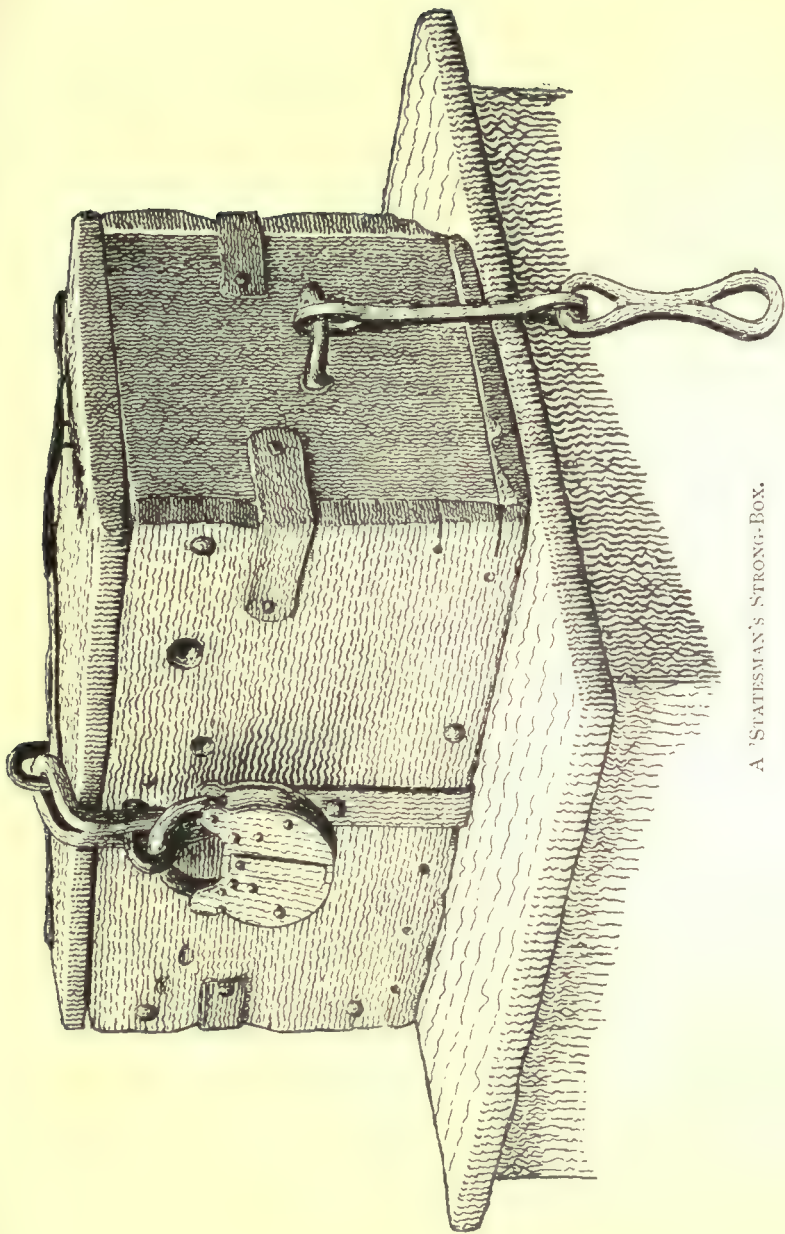
oak standing upright at brief intervals, ornamented only with a plain moulding down the centre. The spaces between the planks were lath and plaster.

The accessories of the table in the 'statesman's home were primitive enough. Wood was, apparently, used for nearly everything in the earlier days, though later on, pewter superseded it among the better-to-do. But the use of wooden trenchers (made generally of sycamore or ash) lingered on in out-of-the-way corners till probably this century: and sometimes we come across piggins, for porridge or pudding, made exactly like the old-fashioned milking-pail, being coopered in wood with one projecting handle. Tiny hand-churns, of the up-and-down shape, less than a foot in height, were made, apparently, to churn a portion of butter for two or three persons only. Pewter plates and dishes (or "doublers," as they were termed) came into fashion, and ousted the wooden trenchers; and the pewter again, although only recently, gave way to earthenware.

Although early rising and early retiring to rest formed, no doubt, the regular rule in the days of our forefathers, the 'statesmen were not, of course, independent of artificial light. This, of course, was obtained by means of the flint strike-a-light and tinder, yet although tinder-boxes were in general use till some fifty or sixty years ago, they are now so rare that the present writer has failed in all his wanderings to see more than one or two examples in the parish.* Sulphur *spunks*, the prototype of the present match, followed, rough-shaped fragments of wood, generally four to six inches in length.

The lights used in the farms were the rush candle and the dip. Both were home-made. For the first, the farm lasses gathered, in late summer, the seaves or rushes, and after peeling them, they were dipped in fat, and when dry stored away for use. White, in his "History of Selborne," estimates the cost of rush candles to the user, and finds out that burning only one at a time, five-and-a-half hours' light was manufactured for one farthing. The dip was what its name purports—a wick dipped in fat; but at a later date, perhaps from the

* This is an example of the total extinction of a "neo-archaic" in a very short time.



A STATESMAN'S STRONG-BOX.



middle of last century, the farmers moulded their candles in tin moulds, and these are often to be found amongst the lumber of the out-house.

But it is in the candle-holders that the interest in this subject centres, for there is hardly any limit to the variety of the shapes in which these were made during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They were all of wrought iron, or of iron and wood, and in nearly all cases the socket for the dip is supplemented by a nipper or tweezer, to hold the rush candle at the requisite angle. The simpler forms are made with a turned wooden base, into which the socket is driven; but some are found all of iron with three legs, and sometimes very pretty in design. Occasionally they were driven into the posts of the bedstead or panelling. Pendent types, made to adjust in length, were used in the outbuildings and for sheep-salving; and there was a sort of standard candlestick, made of a tall wooden pole, on which, by various methods, the socket might be adjusted at the required elevation. The study of the 'statesman's candlestick is a fascinating one, but the types are far too numerous to describe here.*

The farmyard and dairy are happy hunting-grounds for the student of the obsolete. There are the calf piggins and stripping pails of coopered wood totally cast aside, and sometimes remarkably Scandinavian in form. There is the up-and-down churn, used often now for some totally alien purpose. The peat spade, by which the peats were "graved" and stocked for fuel, and the push-plough, by which the rough "gale" and ling was peeled off, when a new bit of ground was broken up. Where the ground was boggy, as about Haverthwaite, they shod the furrow-horse in ploughing with a great wooden "horse-patten," to keep him from sinking in to his fetlocks; while in the fell farms, we may rout out of the shipp on a rusted "lambstick," or shepherd's crook, or the ashen "bands" which were formerly used to

* See "The Domestic Candlestick of Iron in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Furness," a fully illustrated paper by the present writer, in the "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society," Vol. XII., p. 122.

secure by the neck both cattle and sheep in pen and byre. Occasionally we come across the clogwheels, which preceded the spoked wheel in farm carts, heavy lumbering discs of wood fastened to and revolving with, not upon, the axle.

There is no real evidence of the quern or hand-mill being in actual use in recent times, but, considering the number of stones that are found, and the distance of some farms from any corn mill, we cannot but think that the use of the quern has died out only in comparatively modern times in the Lake district. Hand-mills of other sorts were in use until this century. The old sort of malt mill was a quern of upper and lower stones, but the upper was made to rotate by simple machinery with cogged wheels and a trundle. The more usual and probably more modern type was like a large coffee-mill attached to a beam in the loft of the house.

Other quaint relics of past methods may be easily found by the "neo-archaist." "Hotts" were panniers, by which manure was carried on to the farm land, before the use of carts was common; "Tar kits" were wooden receptacles for sheep salve; Cow horns, and occasionally even shells, were used by the dalesmen to call in their labourers from the fells to dinner—a custom evidently owning a very early origin. For travelling, saddles of a different fashion to those of the present day were used; and leathern saddlebags slung behind with light luggage. If the dalesman's womanfolk went a journey, they sat behind their lords and masters on a well-padded pillion. All these appliances, and many similar ones, have been killed by the nineteenth century: and if in future we are to know the ways and customs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, examples of all such should be rescued from the lumber rooms and lofts of farms, and stored with labels and localities in museums in county towns.

NOTE.—The reader will find illustrations of the appliances afterwards enumerated in the following papers by the present author in the "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society":—

"On some Obsolete and Semi-obsolete Appliances," Vol. XIII., p. 86.

"Illustrations of Old Fashions and Obsolete Contrivances in Lakeland," Vol. XV., p. 252.

Girdle and brandreth, toasters and spits, fire-dogs, cats, firebacks, candle-holders, flint and tinder-boxes, candle moulds, strong boxes, trenchers, piggins, clog-wheels, horse pattens, horns, sheep bands, peat spades and push ploughs, mortars, pillions and saddlery, querns, etc. etc.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DALESMAN.

ELSEWHERE we have hinted at the fact that many of the older farms were, in origin, the first "sæts" or habitations of the Norse settlers; but now we have to deal with the dalesmen themselves, the descendants—and pretty pure-blooded descendants, too—of this immigration.

Yet in this branch of local study we find ourselves a generation too late; and when we come to the folk-lore this is even more markedly the case. Hawkshead and its ways may, indeed, have stood still more than most of the surrounding districts, but still the nineteenth century has told its tale. With the decline of the small landowner, the cause of which we shall have to treat of, the population itself has undergone a certain amount of change. Many old names remain, but some of the most prolific stocks have almost disappeared. New names have come in recently with tenant farming, and at an earlier period with quarrying and copper mining, and it is now not so easy to say who among a crowd such as we meet at the local agricultural show are true Furness Fellmen and who are not. If, however, we take the type in preference to the individual, this is of small consequence, because although "off-comes" may be fairly plentiful, most of them are from the adjacent Cumberland or Westmorland fell districts, and consequently of the same origin. Consequently, our crowd in the show-field is the same crowd that thronged the Market Place two centuries ago, except that they dress differently and talk less dialect.

The dalesman of Hawkshead parish, as we see him now

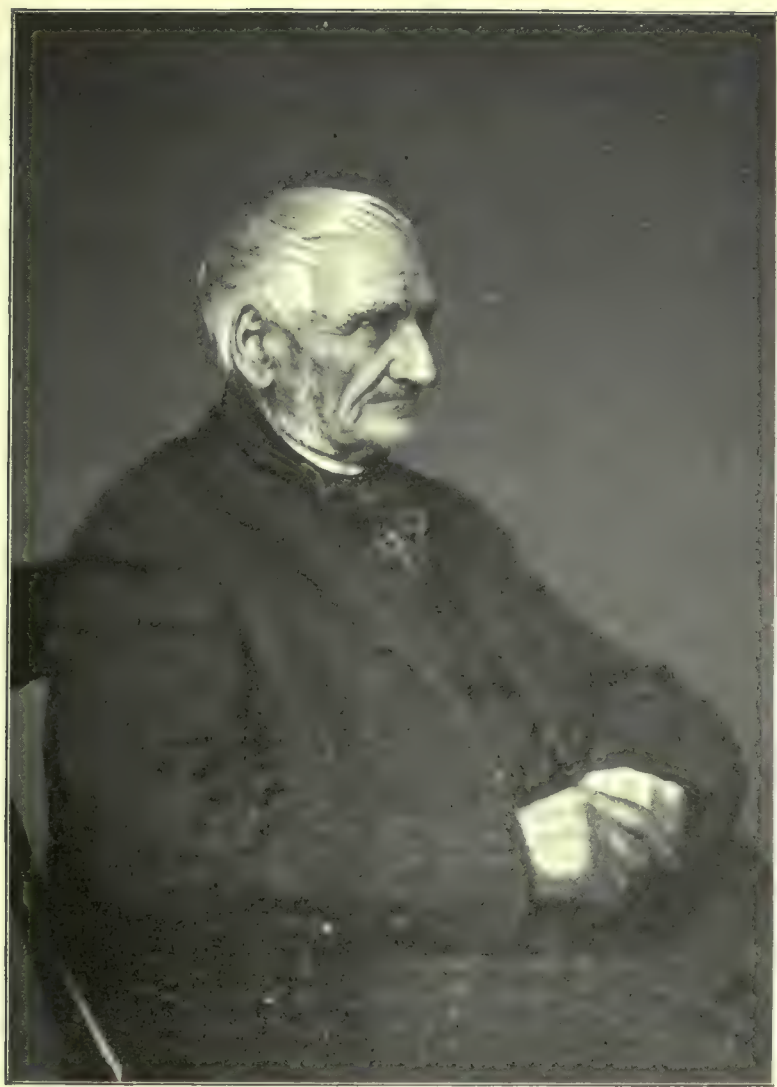
is a very "pretty fellow" as regards stature, but he is seldom a giant. In fact, at the present day we seldom see very tall men, although undoubtedly the stature is above the average. Really big men were, however, often enough turned out, as we see by examining the annals of the wrestling ring; and if we take the heights of the nineteen principal heroes given in Messrs. Robinson and Gilpin's "Wrestling and Wrestlers," who are all from Cumbria or North Lancashire, we find the very respectable average of 5 ft. 11 $\frac{2}{3}$ ins. The point of interest here, however, is that out of these nineteen, seven are Hawk-head men, and of these seven, six are over 6 ft., and the seventh 5 ft. 10 ins.* Another man from Lowick, close on our borders, is also a 6 ft. man; and the average for the eight in question is over 6 ft. 1 in. Let us inscribe the names of these worthy sons of our parish on the roll of fame:—

	Ft. Ins.			Weight in Stones.
Myles Dixon, born at Sawrey...	6	3	...	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
James Dixon, ditto (brother of Myles)	6	3	...	14
Rowland Long, born at Graythwaite...	6	2	...	18
John Long, ditto (brother of Rowland)	5	10	...	14
Arthur Burns, of Ulleter	6	0	...	—
J. Harrison, of Lowick	6	0	(about)	17
Robert Robinson, Cunsey (not a wrestler of note)	6	0	...	—
William Wilson, born at High Wray...	6	4	(at 22 yrs.)	15

So that of these eight, the only wrestlers from our parish recorded in that work, only one is below 6 ft. in height.

Nevertheless, these men are, and no doubt were, always the exception, not the rule; men who from their great physical strength made their mark in the great local sport. The ordinary dalesman is and was above the middle height, broad of shoulder and deep of chest, a man of great though somewhat latent physical power, and generally walking with a slight forward stoop, due, no doubt, to the heavy boots

* "Wrestling and Wrestlers—Biographical Sketches of Celebrated Athletes," etc., by Jacob Robinson and Sidney Gilpin, London and Carlisle, 1893.



THE FELLSIDE TYPE.

(*Mr. George Black, aged ninety-two, 1897.*)



and clogs he and his forefathers have had to wear in breasting the steep ling-covered hills. Large of bone and spare of flesh are our men of the hills; fair in complexion, somewhat aquiline in feature, with grey-blue eyes with plenty of intelligence therein. Certainly nothing of the Celt or Ancient Briton about them, so that we must conclude that here again we see the Viking type.*

The late Mr. Robert Ferguson, the champion of the Norse descent theory, has called attention to the swarms of fair-haired children at our fellside farms, evidence, he hints, of his cause. Racial characteristics are, however, an unsafe basis really for such deductions, as is well known; especially after a prolonged period of isolation from a parent stock, even although but little new blood has been introduced by marriage. There are, we know, many causes which may effect considerable changes of type, and among these not the least are climate, geographical position, and the general conditions of life. In some countries you may swamp a population over and over again, yet the new comers revert to the old type. This is not, however, especially marked in Great Britain, although the tendency is not absent; but the existence of such a tendency at all suffices to necessitate the greatest caution in drawing deductions by type as to the origin of any race.

But the character, peculiarities, and temperament, of the people are more marked than their physical characteristics, and they are also, possibly, of greater significance. Extreme reserve of manner is general, and this to the stranger seems hardly compatible with the frank openness of nature which is really there, though hidden. Hard of a bargain, though never grasping—the true characteristic of most poor but free communities, like the Bedawin, who plunder the caravan and show open hospitality to all comers, because these are points of honour: shrewd rather than intelligent, probably because the brain, though active enough, has had to work among the lonely fells and dales, not in an open country where

* See a full scientific description of the Cumbrian type by Dr. Thurnam in the "*Crania Britannica*," I., p. 215.

new scenes, new sights, and new folks are presenting themselves. In other words, the shrewdness is intellectual power, which, stunted by surroundings, has stopped a trifle short. Turn a dalesman into a busy mercantile centre, with opportunities, and see what he will develop into.

But the most distinguishing and often the most amusing feature is an excess of caution. This is, however, rather in words than deeds, although hare-brained acts are scarce. But in conversation, the reason for caution is the same as that for their shrewdness. They have lived their lives in the hills, where nothing need be done in a hurry. They will not venture a decisive opinion on any matter, and even if ignorant upon it, why should their ignorance be acknowledged? Rarely will you hear a dalesman of the old school make a positive expression of like or dislike. He is slow to praise or condemn; chary of making an appointment. You may tell him a story of foreign lands, or of something beyond his ken; and he answers, "Why, now," or "Suer," but the very intonation of his voice seems to imply scepticism. His manner is distinctly well-bred, (there never was such a thing as a vulgar 'statesman, or even fell farmer) but his independence is excessive. Even now, very few of the older men, in however humble a position, "Sir" their "b' tters," by which we mean "betters" in fortune, or "gentlefolks," as the term goes. To touch the hat to the squire, among the old hands, is a recent, and in our opinion, a regrettable innovation, for it shows a distinction in classes which formerly had no place here; and in talking to the young squire of his father, the dalesman would often use the plain Christian name instead of Mr. So-and-so, and this *especially if he respect him*, the use of the titular prefix among the old-fashioned fell-siders certainly implying, if anything, a certain amount of distrust. To the dalesman of old, all men were his equals, squire and priest included, and nothing more; and though his representatives of to-day have, in leaving their position as landowners, dropped in some degree these extremes of independence, the traditional feeling can be found in the fact that they still make good friends and bad servants.

Our fell farmers brewed their October ale at home, and were fond enough of a "sup." But they are not, and never were, drunkards. Sprees were common enough, and perhaps came too often, and many a man still gets drunk by the Calendar—a time-honoured method. Again, drinking for wagers was not unknown, as we see by the quaint entry in the Parish Register (dated December 16th, 1689), which records the death of Bernard Swainson an apprentice, who, in a shop in Hawkshead, wagered that he would drink nine noggins of brandy; the liquor, if consumed according to the wager to be paid for by his companions, while if he failed, he was to pay himself. The unfortunate young fool won his bet, and instantly fell down, and being carried home, he lay twenty-two hours without speech, and then died, a victim to alcoholic poisoning.*

Crime of any sort was rare, as it is now, through all the dales of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Furness. Certain sorts of misdemeanours, especially those which were partly done in the spirit of bravado, such as illicit spirit-making, or poaching, were common enough; and of some of these we shall have more to say. Immorality, as evidenced by the birth of illegitimate children, was common, but the fault was sanctioned by immemorial custom; but crime, brutal, savage, and blackguardly, was most rare. Murder was but little known, yet occasionally, when instigated by drink or excessive hatred, was committed with great ferocity. This, we think, is a trace of the Norse Berserking Viking, half of whose time was spent in domestic and peaceful home life, but who, when raiding a village, thought it but sport to toss, in devilish play, the infants of his foes from spear point to spear point.

But we have now to consider a remarkable feature in our community, which we have already hinted at in the historical chapter. This is what we venture to term, in default of a better word, the clan system—the cohabitation of hamlets and areas by many folks owning the same surname and a common

* See "The Oldest Register Book of Hawkshead," p. lxxxvii., where the entry is given in full.

origin. We have indeed shown, to some extent, the reasons for this, and here we need do little more than consider the evidence of its existence down to more recent times, for it is indeed barely dead yet. West, in his "Antiquities of Furness," first noted that in the Court Rolls of the time of Henry VIII., certain stocks were grouped thickly together. The Braithwaites then lived about Brathay, Sawreys at Sawrey, Hirdsons at Bouth, Rawlinsons at Haverthwaite, Turners at Oxenpark, and Riggas at Hawkshead. Tomlinsons were found at Grisedale, Redheads at Nibthwaite, Taylors at Finsthwaite, and Satterthwaites at Colthouse.

But in writing the prefatory chapters to "The Oldest Register Book of Hawkshead" we were enabled to get a great deal more minute information on this interesting subject. We found that out of some four hundred surnames in the Register a very small proportion—thirty-three, to be exact—occupied a very important place, being borne by a very large percentage of the body of inhabitants. These thirty-three stocks had all over one hundred mentions in the Register, out of which fourteen were with between three and four hundred, twelve with over four hundred, and eight over six hundred. Three families alone are mentioned over a thousand times, and one clan (the Braithwaites) is easily first, being mentioned 2,513 times. These are the twelve tribes in order of size:—

Braithwaite	2,513	Sandys	761
Rigge or Rigg	1,631	Taylor	649
Satterthwaite... ..	1,539	Benson	489
Sawrey	830	Dodgson	433
Holm or Holmes	789	Walker	432
Mackereth	796	Knipe... ..	412

And the remaining twenty-one families which occur between one and four hundred times are Ashburner, Atkinson, Bank or Banks, Borwick, Dickson, ffisher, ffearson, Harrison, Hodgson, Jackson, Keen or Keene, Kirkby, Rawlinson, Robinson, Scale or Scales, Strickland, Tomlinson, Townson, Turner, Watterson, and Wilson.

As in Chapter VII. we shall go into the location and origin of all these stocks, we must refer our readers to that for these details.* Most of them are more or less found grouped, as if springing from a common origin, although of course they are not all autochthonous. But of the twelve principal names we find the Bensons cropping up in dozens in the Skelwith district, the Braithwaites by scores all over the northern half of the parish, but especially at Sawrey, while the Dodgsons are scattered; the Holmes were a clan about Tilberthwaite and Oxenfell, and the Knipes spread widely in the north-west of the parish; the Mackereths were abundant at Skelwith and elsewhere, while the Riggess clustered thickly round Hawkshead; the name of Sandys, as might be expected, abounded in the south-east, while the Satterthwaites, springing from Satterthwaite itself, occupied the more central area; the Sawreys, hailing from Sawrey, spread to Graythwaite, Sawrey Ground, and the Monk Coniston side, while the Taylors swarmed in the lower ground about Finsthwaite, Colton, and Penny Bridge; the Walkers, a largish clan, were widespread, but most common in the north.

Though we call this the clan system, we have noticed that the term is barely satisfactory. There was not in historical times anything in common between it and the Scottish clan system. But the origin of the latter is somewhat obscure, though if we may take the old description published by Sir Walter Scott as accurate, the two systems were not so wide apart at their rise as we might expect.† The Celticism of

* See also "The Oldest Register Book of the Parish of Hawkshead," pp. xxvi. and xciii-ci.

† "The property of the Highlands belongs to a great many different persons, who are more or less considerable in proportion to the extent of their estates and to the command of men that live upon them or follow them on account of their clanship out of the estates of others. These lands are let by the landlord on a short tack to people whom they call goodmen, and who are of a superior station to the commonalty. These are generally the sons, brothers, cousins, or nearest relations of the landlords. (Those sons who marry) are preferred to some farms. This, by means of a small portion and the liberality of their relatives, they are able to stock, and which they, the children and grandchildren, possess at an easy rent till a nearer descendant be again preferred to it. As the propinquity removes they become less considered, till at last they degenerate to be of the common people. As this hath been an ancient custom, most of the farmers and cottars are of the name and clan of the proprietor."—Burt's "Letters from Scotland," II., p. 341; quoted in Gomme's "Village Community," p. 135.

the Highlands and the Scandinavian element of our fells might easily develop, the one to the organized and confederate group of septs, the other to the free but allied communities we find in Furness.

The Furness groups were all or mostly 'statesman families of greater or less degree, equal in rank, and owing no allegiance to any chieftain beyond the rents and services due to the Lord of the Manor. But in some of the more secluded localities it seems probable that in consequence of the number of families bearing the same name, it became, for convenience, the custom to call the 'statesmen by the names of their homes in preference to their patronymics. Such was the case till quite recently about the head of Langdale and Seathwaite, where all were Tysons, and where, in consequence, the different members were distinguished by such names as "Daniel of Cockley Beck," "Harry o' t' Hinging House," etc.*

Now though Cockley Beck, at the head of the Duddon Valley, is outside the limits of Hawkshead, it is close to the junction of the three Lakeland counties at "Three Shire Stones"; and having got into the subject of the Tysons, we cannot dismiss them without an anecdote which bears on this very clan system question. One of the Tysons of Cockley Beck, we believe John, who died in 1893, and was son of Daniel of Cockley Beck above mentioned, had occasion to go to the nearest market town, no doubt Broughton, for a parcel which was consigned to his father. Parcels and letters were probably but very rarely received by such remote hill-dwellers, and no postal or parcel delivery came within several miles of their isolated home in the fells. John set off and trudged his eleven miles like a Briton, and repairing to the carrier's house or Post Office, enquired if there was anything for his "fadder." "Oh yes," they said, "there is a parcel for Mr. Tyson." Now John had never heard of his father but as "Daniel of Cockley Beck," and to him "Mr. Tyson"

* See A. C. Gibson's "The Old Man" (1849), p. 45. It is said, and we believe correctly, that the late Mr. James Tyson, the well-known squatter millionaire, was the son of a William Tyson who emigrated from Eskdale or Wastdale.

conveyed nothing. So muttering to himself that he "mud try again efter a lile bit," he walked straight out of the house and over the fells to his home.*

We have attempted to show, in treating of the history of the parish, that the inhabitants, although originally free men, fell in post-Norman days into the position of feudal tenants; and we have pointed out that owing partly to the military organization necessary in the disturbed condition of the northern counties, they never became more than nominally villeins, retaining an amount of freedom which did not exist contemporaneously in more southern manors. It is worth our while now to analyse the Code of Customs drawn up in 1585, and ratified the ensuing year. As this code has been published by West, we shall, without re-printing it, examine the portions relating to the tenant's position as a land-owner, and see in what way it affected him.

In the verdict of the jury for the Queen, we notice the following points:—†

Fourth item.—Any tenant who shall sell his customary tenement before being properly admitted is to forfeit 20s., and the purchaser the same.

* Another story is told of one of the Tysons of Cockley Beck, which shows at once the unfamiliarity with the requirements of civilization which prevailed in the upland farms, and the *old way* of looking at what are (to them) novelties. Our Tyson on a visit to Ambleside saw for the first time a four-wheeled conveyance. "Wha ivver saw t' like," quoth he, "t' girt wheel keeps trundling efter t' lile yan, and niver catches it up." We do not vouch for the truth or originality of this story, but it should be remembered that the Hardknott and Wrynose Road on which he lived was probably always too rough for carriers' wagons, and that the goods traffic, which was considerable until the beginning of this century, was, we believe, always by pack animals.

† There is at Graythwaite Low Hall a contemporary copy of the Code of Customs, which differs somewhat, but immaterially as a rule, from West's version. West, however, in the third item of the verdict of the jury for the Queen, omits altogether the Latin forms of admittance and alienation fines, which, being interesting, and having never before been printed, we give here. Instead of "in the usual form," as given by West, read "in this or the like form in effecte, viz., of an heire in this forme."

Ad hanc curiā Juratores presentāt qd C. D. tenens custōm huius manerii seisitus in dñico suo ut de feod secundū consuetudinē huius manerii unius mesuage et ac terr custōm m̄ ptñ vocat a fermhoulde jacent in hamlet de C. p. reddit. p. ann. x^s. post ultimā curiam obiit inde seisitus et qd C. D. est filius eius et heres p̄pinq̄ior et qd. p. consuetudinē eiusdem manerii prēd C. D. debet solvere dñe regine p. fine p. ingressu suo inde hēndo xx^s., viz., verū valorē reddit tēntōr p̄dcor p. duos annos sup quo venit hic in plena curia p̄dicus C. D. et soluit finem prdd ballio hamlett prēdd de C. et petit qd admittatū tenens teñto prddco secundū consuetudinē manerii prd et admittitur inde tenens et fecit fidelitatē saluo jure cuiuslibet licite petentis."

A purchaser is to present himself, and announce the purchase, at the first manor court, failing which the penalty is 20s. If he has not done so by the second court held after such purchase, he shall forfeit 40s.: and the land shall be seized by the Crown until he has paid all fines and forfeits due.

Fifth item.—This regulates the division of estates. It is ordered that, because the division of customary estates “hath been a great decaye and impoverishment to this Lordship, in hinderinge of the service to her highness for horses, and to the spoyle and utter wastinge of her majestie’s woods,” and also a cause of impoverishing the people, no tenement shall be divided, unless the least parcel thus divided, be of the ancient yearly rent of 6s. 8d., and that each part must have had before division its own “house and onset.” Persons, however, who buy a complete tenement of less rent, may bequeath as usual. But if a person wishes to sell a parcel tenement, and the tenant of the residue tenement (*i.e.*, that which was divided from it) be willing to buy at a reasonable

Translation.—At this court the Jurors present that C. D., a customary tenant of this manor is seized in his demesne (or of his own right), as of fee according to the custom of the manor of one messuage and acres of customary land belonging to the manor, called a “fermhoulde,” lying in the hamlet of C., of the rent of 10s. per annum, that after the last court, the man who was then seized died, and that C. D. is his son and nearest heir, and that by the custom of the said manor, the aforesaid C. D. has to pay to our Lady the Queen, as a fine and for admittance, thereupon to be had, 20s. as the real amount of rent of the aforesaid tenements for two years. Whereupon the said C. D. has come here in full court, and has paid the aforesaid fine to the bailiff of the aforesaid hamlet of C., and has claimed that he may be admitted tenant of the aforesaid tenements, according to the custom of the aforesaid manor, and thereupon he is admitted tenant, and has made the fealty in inviolate right of such as lawfully make claim.

“Of an alienacon in this forme :—

“Ad hanc cur Jur. presentāt qd C. D. tenens custom huius manerii sēitus in Dnico suo ut de fēod scdm consuetudinē manēr unius messuag, etc., post ultima cur alicāvit tēnta prēd cuidam H. A. hend et tenēd eidem H. A. et herēd suis scdm consuetudinē manerii prēd qd prēd H. A. p. consuetudinē manēr prēd debet solvere dne manerii pro ingressu suo inde hendo xx^s viz., ut sūpa as by dyvers copies of the like doth and may appear.”

Translation.—At this court the Jurors present that C. D., a customary tenant of this manor, being seized in his demesne as of fee according to the custom of the manor, of one messuage, etc., after the last court alienated the aforesaid tenements to one H. A., to be had and held by the same H. A., and his heirs, according to the custom of the aforesaid manor, that the aforesaid H. A., by the custom of the aforesaid manor, has to pay to the Lord of the Manor for his own admittance thereupon to be held, 20s, namely, as above.

price, it is to be sold to him. But if not, it may be sold to any other tenant, or to someone who will dwell on it.

In the *tenth item* it is laid down that houses are to be kept tenantable, failing which the tenant forfeits 6s. 8d.

Eleventh item.—No one may fell timber or top saplings "without deliverie of the bailiff," under penalty of 6s. 8d.

Twelfth item.—No "underwoods, topps, loppes, croppes," are to be sold, and no man may cut down or carry away his neighbours "ellers hollings" or "garthings," under the penalty of 6s. 8d.

Thirteenth item.—Anyone closing a public path or occupation road, or turning a brook course, forfeits 6s. 8d.

For the tenants there are six clauses or items:—

First item.—Any estate may be lawfully sold; but for failing to acquaint the steward the penalty is 20s. An estate may be left to any person by will: but a tenant dying intestate shall be succeeded by his eldest son "or next cossinge."

Second item.—If a tenant dies leaving no sons, the eldest unmarried daughter shall have the estate; but she shall pay to her younger sister (if only one) twenty years' ancient rent. If more younger sisters, forty years' ancient rent, equally divided.

Third item.—The widow of a tenant shall have, so long as she remain unmarried and chaste, her widow right, which is one-third (of the profits) of the estate.

Fourth item.—Regulates provision for younger sons. The heir shall pay twelve years' rent to his brother, if he have only one. If there be two, sixteen years' rent between them; and if three or more, twenty years' rent among them. But a father may, by will, proportion these sums as he thinks right, so long as he does not exceed them.

Fifth item.—A regulation concerning marriage covenants. If a tenant promises his heir (whether son or daughter) an estate, at the time of such heir's marriage, he shall publish it at the next Manor Court, or to the steward within six months, and it is then a binding agreement. This rule is a protective one on behalf of the young dalesman or daleswoman, who, if the

parent choose to bequeath his estate to a child born later, could probably not afford to marry.

Sixth item.—Any tenant having a child who is idiot or impotent (not being his heir) and such tenant die intestate, the said idiot is to be sustained out of the estate.

Now these are the main rules of the customaryhold estates as we find them in Furness Fells. It will be seen that while the lord had no power whatever to deprive the tenant of his estate, the chief aim of the customs was to tie up the estate so that it pass, whether by purchase or inheritance, without being divided; and it was also expected that the owner should be resident. The reason was that the tenure was originally military, and each estate had to provide one suitably armed man. Hence it was that these estates descended so often complete in the same family of estatesmen to the beginning of this century.

Customary tenure, found only in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands, lies in some ways between copyhold and freehold; but it is very distinct from either. But customaryhold as practised in Westmorland differed in one or two rather curious ways from the local development. To begin with, in the case of there being only daughters, the estate passed to the eldest, not to the eldest unmarried daughter, as was the case in the Manor of Hawkshead. The reason, we presume, for the latter unusual arrangement, was that it was supposed that the married daughters were already provided for, and consequently the ordinary law of primogeniture might be dispensed with; but it is plain that such a custom was hardly in the interests of justice, because it would be easy for a young woman intending to contract matrimony, to arrange to delay such an event, and so secure a property, thus defrauding both elder married and younger unmarried sisters. In the regulation for widow-right, the idea of keeping the property in the hands of one individual was less strictly adhered to than in Westmorland, where the widow took the whole property during her chaste widowhood. In ordinary freeholds, the widow-right was the same as at Hawkshead, from which we conclude that this

custom was an innovation upon the ancient local customs ; or rather, a relaxation allowed at the time of codifying the customs, owing to the more settled condition of the country.

The twelfth item of the verdict for the Queen shows that the tenant of the Manor had no more rights over the timber than he had over the minerals. But timber was lavishly allowed by the bailiff for the construction of tenements, as we know by the immense oak beams in existing structures. Mr. Gatey, in his paper, "How Customary Tenure was established in Westmorland," says that "the timber on customary estates belonged to the customary holder, not to the lord"; while Mr. Heelis states that "they" (the tenants of the Kendal Barony) "had no interest or property in any woods whatsoever, but only under a certain acknowledgment called Greenhue rent,"* from which we must conclude that the customs in the different manors did not coincide on this point.

There are two other interesting manorial customs not mentioned in the code—the delivery of possession of an estate, and the "common right." The symbol of the former seems to have been by cutting up a clod of earth and delivering it and a twig of wood to the new tenant. This was probably originally done by the manor bailiff at the Manor Court: but we see that it was practised till the last century, by the deeds we have quoted referring to the purchase of the chapel and burial-ground of the Quakers at Colthouse.

The common right was the universal privilege enjoyed by every tenant to run a certain amount of sheep upon the unenclosed fell. But this right, though it appears to have been universal, was certainly not unlimited. It was regulated by the size of the farm, or, to speak with greater accuracy, the number of sheep a tenant might turn on to the fell was that which he could conveniently winter on the enclosed land surrounding his farm.

A hundred years ago the whole face of this parish had a very different aspect, from one point of view. The high

* "The Barony of Kendal and Manor of Hawkshead," by W. Hopes Heelis. Reprinted from "Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science," Part IV.

ground or fell which forms such a large portion of the area was all unenclosed common land, and very much better to the eye, we doubt not, than it now is, with the ugly bare stone walls crossing and cutting it in every direction. Common enclosure went on over a long period, and a few of our older men can remember a very different state of things to that at the present day. Mr. George Black, who was born in 1805, can recollect when a great part of Claife was unenclosed,* and Outgate marks, we believe, the point where the "gate" or road left the enclosed fields and passed on to common land: but alas, this is not the only change which has taken place, for men of fewer years than Black can remember when all the district about Wray and Blelham was in the hands of now dispossessed 'statesman stocks.

Where sheep formed such an important element in country industry 'as it did here, it is manifest that the prosperity of a 'statesman family depended on the number of its flock, which again, as we have shown, depended on the capacity of the enclosed lands for wintering. We cannot, therefore, see how the enclosure of the commons, supposing it carried out fairly, can have much precipitated, as has sometimes been asserted, the decline of our yeomen. In one way it may have helped, for there is no doubt that a number of herdwick sheep pastured, say, on a mountain range unenclosed, would thrive more than the same flock on the same area cut into various enclosures. The reason is, that in the latter case the animals would have less range and less variety; so that while one section of the flock enjoys a dry fellside, another is starving on a rock, or slops in a sunless bog. And no doubt, also, the closer inbreeding which would follow the division of the flocks would add to the deterioration. But on the other hand the continuous tendency to overstock the unenclosed fell by the smaller tenants was impossible to check, and was

* "An Act for dividing, allotting and enclosing the Commons, or waste lands, called Claife Heights or Claife Commons, except a certain plot of land called the Heald within the Township or Division of Claife, in the Parish of Hawkshead, in the County Palatine of Lancashire," 34 Geo. III., 1794. The actual award is dated 1799.

equally, if not more, injurious, than the causes we have referred to, of deterioration where the fell is enclosed.

The real reason for the decline of the customary tenant must be sought in the introduction of machinery towards the end of the eighteenth century, which extinguished not only the local spinning and weaving, but was also the death-blow of the local market. Before this time, idleness at a fellside farm was unknown, for clothes and even linen were home-made, and all spare time was occupied by the youths in carding wool, while the girls spun the "garn" with distaff and wheel. The looms were dotted about over the country face, but we believe that, during the seventeenth century at any rate, the weaving itself was not done by the farmers. The sale of the yarn to the local weavers, and at the local market, brought important profits to the dalesman, so that it not only kept all hands busy, but put money into his pocket. But the introduction of machinery for looms and for spinning, and consequent outside demand for fleeces instead of yarn and woven material, threw idle not only half of the family, but the local hand-weavers, who were no doubt younger sons of the same stock. Thus idleness took the place of thrift and industry among a naturally industrious class, for the sons and daughters of the 'statesmen, often too proud to go out to service, became useless encumbrances on the estates. Then came the improvement in agricultural methods, which the 'statesman could not afford to keep abreast of: and be it noticed that by this time the new generation which was coming into the properties, was the very one which—the first of their race—had grown up in idleness. What else could take place but that which did. The estates became mortgaged and were sold, and the rich manufacturers, whose villas are on the margin of Windermere, have often enough among their servants the actual descendants of the old 'statesmen, whose manufactures they first usurped and whose estates they afterwards absorbed.*

* See an interesting paper, "Former Social Life in Cumberland and Westmorland," by W. Wilson, in "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science," No. XII., p. 67.

Constitutionally, as physically, our dalesmen were a powerful race, a strength we attribute partly to their origin and partly to the splendid air they breathed. Their diet was an ultra force-giving diet, rather than a wholesome one, consisting as it did so largely of oatmeal and dried (*not* fresh, mind) meat. Only strong stomachs could stand such fare, and fortunately for them, these organs were generally strong; but by no means always: and to the curse of dyspepsia, coupled with financial straits and depressing effects of a very wet climate, we cannot but attribute the painful number of suicides which have occurred, and do still occur, in the parish.

Dr. George Parsons, whose long practice in the parish qualifies him well to speak on the subject of local health considers that diphtheria, rheumatic fever, and quinsy are perhaps the commonest complaints; and all, he thinks, even diphtheria, may to some extent be due to the dampness of the climate. Undoubtedly this helps, but we venture to think that these complaints point rather to hereditary taint, due to centuries of improper alimentation.

There is at the Brown Cow Inn in Hawkshead a great curiosity. It is known as "Hāksid girt clog," and "girt" it certainly is, for it is twenty inches in length, eight inches wide at the bottom, and sixteen inches from welt to welt across the front. This wonderful shoe was actually worn by one John Watterson, of Outgate, a mole catcher, and was made by John Rigg, of Outgate, clogmaker, about two generations back. Watterson's other foot was normal in size, and we presume that the growth was elephantiasis: a disease little known in the North of England.

Though we have no records of people of abnormal age in the parish, the fell folk are, generally speaking, long-lived, though probably not so much so as on the Cumberland coast.* That, even at advanced age, they are not wanting in enterprise, the

* In the Colton Register we note among burials: 22nd May, 1793: "James Money, of Cragghead, 104, his wife, aged 84, having died on 18th April previous." On February 28th, 1812, "Henry Nelson Ickenthwaite, 104." The evidence of the later Hawkshead register on longevity has not yet been examined.

following extract from the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* of 27th January, 1782, will show:—"Tuesday, the 17th instant (? ultimate), was married at Hawkshead, by the Rev. Mr. Braithwaite, Mr. Matthew Jackson, of Outycat, near that place (commonly called Fine Matthew), 97 years and six months old, to Mrs. Frances Jackson, of the same place, 67 years of age, whose former husband had been dead almost four months."

The *Cumberland Pacquet* of December 17th noticed this curious wedding, and says that among the large number who attended the ceremony was a Liverpool gentleman, who enquired the bridegroom's age, and was answered that he "wanted two years and a lile bit off a hundred." The bride had a settlement on her of £6 a year, and she asked the bystanders how long they thought Matthew would live. "Three or four years," said they. "O Lord!" quoth the bride, "so long, think ye?" After a dinner and jovial evening the guests retired, and on visiting the happy couple next day they found the bridegroom teasing wool and the bride spinning.*

THE DALESMAN AT PLAY.

Down to about fifty years ago the dalesman's relaxation, if you can call it such, was wrestling, a sport for which the northern fells are still celebrated, although, as we shall see, it is now on a totally different footing to what it used to be. Mr. Robert Ferguson sees in this amusement another northern survival, and he notes that the local pronunciation "wrussle" is nearer the old Norse "rusla" than the Anglo-Saxon "wrestlian." Wrestling was also a great feature, according to Mr. Metcalfe,† in Iceland, where, under the name of "glima," it was practised much until one hundred and twenty years ago. Nevertheless, wrestling was too general all over England, and, indeed, over most of the world in old times, to justify us in finding for the local development

* The notes from the *Cumberland Pacquet* we take from a commonplace book of the late Mr. T. Taylor, of Sawrey, lent us by his widow, to which we are indebted for not a few curious and interesting facts.

† "The Englishman and the Scandinavian," 1880, p. 325.

any special Scandinavian origin ; but we give here for the edification of our wrestling readers an account of a wrestling bout among the Vikings, from the Grettir saga :—

“Thord rushed at Grettir, but he stood still without flinching. Grettir then stretched his hand to the back of Thord, and got hold of his breeches, lifted him off his feet, over his head, and threw him down behind him, so that Thord’s shoulders came down with a heavy thud. Then they said that the two brothers should attack him at the same time, and they did so ; there was a hard tussle, and each had the better by turns, although Grettir always had one of them under him. They fell by turns on their knees, or dragged each other along ; they grasped each other so tightly that they were all blue and bloody. All thought this the greatest fun, and when they stopped, thanked them for the wrestling, and it was the opinion of all who were present that the two brothers were not stronger than Grettir, though each of them had the strength of two strong men.”*

In the last century “wrussling” bouts were the order of the day at certain seasons of the year, and the competitors met purely for sport. Grasmere sports are a modern development entirely, and formerly great rings of fashionable sightseers and visitors were unknown. All was done in love and honour ; and a plain leathern belt, with sometimes a small sum of money, were the utmost that were contended for beyond the distinction of victory.

Of course some of these meetings had their reputation, probably because they were at convenient centres. Thus Melmerby “rounds” held on old Midsummer day, and Langwathby “rounds” on New Year’s day and the following day, were both noted meetings towards the end of last century in Cumberland. Unfortunately, but little record was kept of these gatherings ; and although Hawkshead parish turned out in this century a very fair share of the best wrestlers, it does not appear that regular meetings of any size were held till those round Windermere in this century. There were meetings at Arradfoot and the Flan, near Ulverston, which were both fairly well known ;

* “The Viking Age,” by P. B. du Chaillu, Vol. II., p. 373.

and until about 1830 there was regular annual wrestling and racing at Bouth Fair on Whit Saturday and on the Saturday nearest to the 1st of October. In the southern part of the old parish there were also early in this century meetings at Backbarrow, Finsthwaite, and Oxenpark.

We find the same thing at the northern end of the district. At Hawkshead itself there was an annual wrestle, probably of great antiquity, which took place after the October fair, and when last held was in a field near the Red Lion Inn. This, we believe, gave place to a small meeting at Outgate, which was held sometimes in a "parrock" on the east side of the hamlet, sometimes in the triangular field opposite the little inn. It was, we believe, at one of these two meetings that the veteran Tom Longmire won his spurs as a lad of seventeen or eighteen.*

At Skelwith Bridge there was also an annual "bout," which took place at the "hay fair," which was held towards the end of the hay season.† We have a plain leather belt, with brass buckle, which was won about 1834 at this meeting.

But none of these meetings obtained anything more than a strictly local reputation. At the Ferry, on the other hand, the annual wrestling became widely known in the early part of this century, when the Lake district was getting "boomed" by literary celebrities. We are ignorant when this meeting was started; but although it seems at one time to have been an annual gathering on Easter Monday, it is improbable that it is of any great age. Possibly it took its rise in 1785, when, on the occasion of a long frost, a great wrestling, with a Kendal band of music and plenty of good cheer, was held on the ice near Rawlinson's Nab. The wrestlers were in ordinary clogs, and a "slape" business it must have been.

But the Windermere regattas, at which there were not only boat and other races, but excellent wrestling, became afterwards very well known, and were sometimes held at the Ferry, sometimes at Low-wood, and sometimes at Ambleside. The

* Champion Wrestler of England, died Feb. 11, 1899, æt 76.

† The editors of "Wrestling and Wrestlers," Carlisle, 1893, say the Skelwith meeting was got up by Mr. Branker, of Clappersgate. No date is given, but the hay fair is an ancient institution, and, no doubt, the wrestling also. Mr. Branker was of Croft Lodge about 1840, and a Liverpool merchant.

wrestling ranked next to the Flan sports, and at the Ferry was held on the bowling green, which is the site of the modern hotel. The meeting was at Ambleside in 1809, at Waterhead 1810, and at the Ferry in 1811 and 1819; but we do not know if any regular alternation was observed about this date. Wrestling was still kept up at the Ferry till 1861 or thereabouts, but the gathering had declined in popularity, and it is now shifted to Grasmere, while the yacht races in July, which still start from the Ferry, represent the old regatta.

Miles and James Dixon were the sons of a Sawrey woodman, the first named being born in 1781; and though the family migrated across the lake when the sons were only lads, we may rightly claim both him and his brother as Hawkshead men. They adopted the profession of walling, and in 1829 they built for Lord Muncaster a bridge over the Esk, which, in consequence of the tremendous spates that river frequently brings down in flood seasons, had baffled the efforts of more than one builder.

Miles Dixon stood six feet three inches, and had a wrestling weight of fifteen and a half stones. He appears to have gained his reputation from his immense strength rather than from great skill, for he was hardly an enthusiastic wrestler. Professor Wilson said of him—"Honest and worthy Miles, if put into good heart and stomach, and upon his own dunghill, was, in our humble opinion, a match for any cock in Cumberland."

His first belt was won from John Fletcher, a sixteen-stone man, when only about sixteen, but his victories were numerous. At Waterhead, in 1810, he threw Litt, and Professor Wilson mounted the belt for him with a silver inscribed plate. He died in 1843.

His brother, James Dixon, was of the same height, but his wrestling weight was less by a stone and a half. Among other victories, he was the champion wrestler at the Ferry in 1811.

There was another brother, George, a great bandy-legged chap; and at a Windermere meeting, Miles and James being thrown, everyone was muttering that the day was over, for no one was left to stand against Rowan Long. But into

the ring stumped suddenly George, with "Tak' time, lads! Tak' time! Awt' Dixons errant down yet." And hereditary genius prevailed, and Rowan was grassed.

Rowan (Rowland) and John Long were the sons of a Graythwaite farmer, the former being born in 1778, and the latter in 1780. Rowan was a woodcutter in the copses round Windermere by trade, and such was his strength that, it is said, on the steep slopes he used often to bring down a heavy cart of wood, working between the shafts like a horse. This may well be true, for besides being six feet two inches, he weighed seventeen stones when seventeen years old, and when full-grown, never less than a stone more.

Like Miles Dixon, his success, which as a wrestler was immense, was due to his enormous strength rather than great skill. Between 1796 and 1812, he won ninety-nine belts, and although only a young man, it is said he never succeeded in making up the hundred. There is, however, a singular lack of information about his victories, and it is known that both he and his brother were thrown at Ambleside by William Richardson, of Caldbeck. Rowan's last belt was won at the Ferry in 1812, and about 1824 he retired, and kept a nursery and vegetable garden at Ambleside. In his private life, as in the ring, he was noted for his straightforwardness and integrity, as well as industry. He died in 1852, and it is on record that the coffin measured twenty-seven inches across the breast inside.

John Long, four inches shorter, about four stones less in weight, and a remarkably well-built man, was always considered a better wrestler. He was a woodcutter and sheep shearer, and in later years is well-remembered as chief boatman at the Ferry. In 1811, he threw Tom Nicholson at Ambleside, but in spite of his reputation, he does not seem to have attended the more distant meetings.

A. Craig Gibson, in his "Folk Speech of Cumberland," makes our hero tell the eerie tale of the "Calgarth skulls":—

"And Benjamin's chief ferryman was stalwart old John Long,
A veteran of the wrestling ring (its records hold his name);
Who yet in life's late autumn was a wiry wight and strong,
Though grizzly were his elflocks wild, and bow'd his giant frame."

John Long died at Kirkstone Inn in 1848.

William Wilson is probably the most brilliant wrestler the parish has produced. He was born at High Wray, and at the age of twenty-two was six feet four inches in height, with a weight of fourteen to fifteen stones. His wrestling career was short, figuring prominently only from about 1818 to 1822, but during these years his successes were remarkable. He threw Rowan Long, at Ambleside, and in 1818, at Keswick, came across Tom Richardson, called "The Dyer," in the final, by whom he was thrown. In 1819, he got the first prize and belt at the Ferry, and at Keswick, the same year, although he did not get the first prize, he was the hero of the day, for he "hyped" with great ease the enormous Highlander, John McLaughlan, who stood six feet six inches, and was five or six stones heavier than himself. This fall, one of the most brilliant in wrestling traditions, is still talked of in the North. In 1820, he came out victor at Keswick, throwing, in the final, William Richardson; but in 1822, he was thrown at Low-wood, and at Keswick he overbalanced himself in lifting Weightman, and so lost the belt. He was a sufferer from asthma, and through this seems to have retired from the ring, becoming an inn-keeper successively at Ambleside and at Patterdale. The "chip," as it is called, or special fall, that he brought to such perfection was the "standing hype," or "inside strike," and it was by this most of his opponents were grassed. He died in 1836. Other local wrestlers of note were Arthur Burns, of Ulleter; James, his brother; John Wren, of Bouth; Brian Christopherson, of Oxenpark; and William Coward, of Outgate.*

Fox Hunting.—There are no keener hunters than the fellsiders of Lakeland, but the sport as practised locally would, we imagine, make the Nimrod of the shires look rather astonished. For although the "sound of the horn" will effectually bring the dalesman "from his bed," such a thing as preserving the fox for the sport never occurred to his mind. It is, and has

* For most of the above details of local wrestlers I am indebted to "Wrestlers and Wrestling," before mentioned.

been traditional and constant warfare against poor Reynard from time immemorial, not only by the shepherds and farmers, but by the parish officials, by whom a regular tariff of rewards was ordered for their heads as vermin. Thus, as we shall see in the Parish Accounts, during the early part of the eighteenth century, five shillings was the reward for killing a fox, half-a-crown for a fox's cub, and fourpence for a raven if the head was produced. At Cartmel, they impaled poor Reynard's head on the Church-gates, and in the account book of Sir Daniel Fleming, of Rydal, small payments to "fox-killers" are several times mentioned.

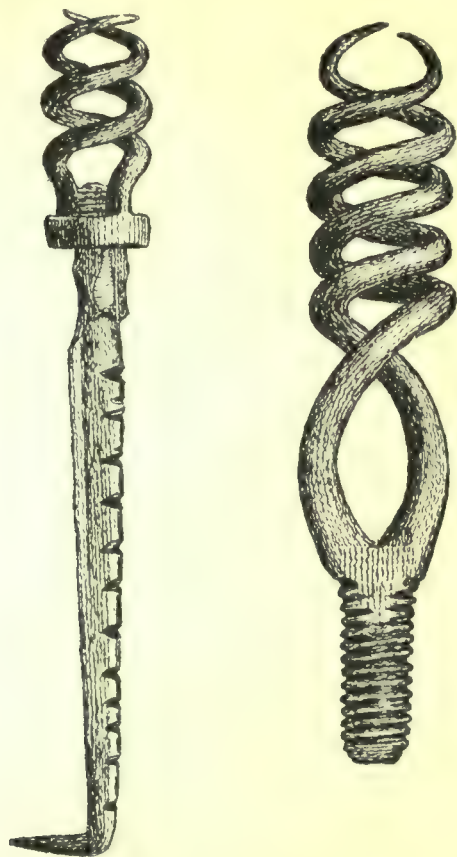
As a rule, a few couples of hounds and terriers were kept in each valley, and these were turned out when foxes became a nuisance. Nowadays, there is a regular pack, whose kennels are at Ambleside, and the hounds are "walked" at the farms; but all the same the hounds turn out, as in the old days, at the most incongruous season of the year. There are, or were, two breeds of foxes in High Furness and the Lakes; the fell fox, which is the tallest of the two, and reddest in colour, and the wood fox, which is shorter, with black legs. The latter, we have been told, is not indigenous, and the breed was first introduced by Mr. Townley, of Townend, near Lake side. At any rate, the fell fox was the gamest; and the author of that interesting pamphlet, the "*Cumberland Foxhounds*," has quoted a capital description of him:—"Fierce as a tiger, long as a hay-band, and with an amiable cast of features like the Chancellor of the Exchequer!"*

The field was always on foot, and we need not say that the fox and hounds were often miles away from the enthusiastic hunters. But much can be done to see a good deal of the hunt by local knowledge of the lie of the fells and the "manners and customs" of the fox. However, hounds were, of course, continually lost or drowned, and the kills were often enough simply a matter between the hounds and the fox, with no enthusiastic hunters within miles.

* Mr. Macpherson alludes to the popular belief in the two varieties, but does not say if he considers it correct. See "*Vertebrate Fauna of Lakeland*," p. 16.

Extraordinary runs were sometimes given by old foxes. There is a story of one sly old chap that ran twice from Kirkby-in-Furness to Threlkeld, but trying the same manoeuvre for a third time was killed somewhere in the neighbourhood of Wetherlam.

The huntsman carried with him a terrible instrument,



FOX-SCREWS, FROM LANGDALE.

which was made use of if the fox took refuge in a borran or under a heap of stones. This was the "fox-screw," a cruel thing about four inches in length like a double corkscrew, which, being fastened to the end of a wooden pole, could be run into the hiding-place and screwed firmly into the body of the unfortunate animal, or into his mouth, if,

as was most usual, he snapped at it. A smaller instrument of the same sort, or a briar, was frequently used for rabbits; while for fougarts, which were hunted with terriers, an instrument called the fougart tongs was in use. This ingenious appliance was on the lazy tongs principle, constructed so that by closing the handles, the tongs were shot out to a considerable distance, and the forceps seized simultaneously the animal.*

Packs of hounds were kept by Mr. J. G. Marshall, of Monk Coniston, and by Mr. Braithwaite Hodgson, of Colthouse (harriers), during the first half of the present century.

Cock Fighting.—This form of amusement was popular in the fells for probably a very long while; and although, together with bull-baiting and badger-drawing, it was made a misdemeanour in 1835, there is no doubt that often since that date, and even yet, mains are fought in secluded parts of the parish. "Cocking" scientifically carried out was a far less cruel pastime than is generally believed, and certainly far greater abuses go still unchecked. With properly made spurs the wounds inflicted were either fatal, or clean and quick healing, which is far from the case with the natural spur. That the sight of two handsome game birds in combat is both picturesque and exciting, no one who has seen two cock pheasants fighting can deny; and surely we need not condemn as wantonly cruel, the country people, who, in following this pastime, simply imitated their betters in fortune and education.

In most parts of England, and very generally in the north, Shrovetide was the great season. In many of the north country schools there was on Shrove Tuesday an annual cock-fight among the scholars, and a tax called a "cock-penny" was paid by each taking part. At Wreay, in Cumberland, the prize was a silver bell, and at Bromfield, in the same county, there was a similar prize given for cock-

* In Wales they used this type of tongs for ejecting dogs from churches. Mr. Macpherson in "Vertebrate Fauna of Lakeland" (p. 30), quotes from *The Westmorland Gazette*, of 1845, a good description of a fougart hunt in Claife on Feb. 7th in that year.

fighting, which followed the curious custom of "barring out" the master. *

Before cock-fighting became illegal, many of the village greens had a carefully prepared little arena, or pit, a circular table-like piece of sward, measuring from six to eleven yards in diameter, surrounded by a shallow trench, from which the earth is thrown up to form a ring bank on the outer side. The cocks fought on the central arena; the feeders and setters occupied the trench, while the ring bank was the barrier over which the spectators might not pass.†

Examples of these pits are common in the north of England, and very often we find them close to old endowed schools. We know, however, only one example within the limits of our parish, namely, at Oxenpark in Colton, on the green called "Robin Hall." This example, which is only poorly preserved, is six yards across the central arena.

The scene of the combats was, however, both prior to and after 1835, as often in a closed barn or out-building, the floor of which was carefully sodded for the purpose. Annual mains were fought on Easter Saturday in the public-house barn at Oxenpark, and sometimes there were as many as thirty battles in one day. A barn near Skelwith Bridge was also the scene of regular cock-fights on Friday in Shrovetide; and there is an upstairs room at the Brown Cow Inn, in Hawkshead, which, in former days was regularly frequented by "gentlemen of the sod." At these "closed pit" mains, a shilling entrance was charged, no doubt for the benefit of the innkeeper.

After the legal prohibition it was notorious for many years that cock-fighting went on all along the Brathay from Skelwith to Langdale. The reasons are obvious; many of the inhabitants of this district are quarrymen, whose predilection for cock-fighting is well known. But the strategical advantages of the district were admirable, for, being situated on the

* The London schoolboys fought cocks on Shrove Tuesday in the time of Henry II. See Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes," Ed. 1833, p. 281. See also Chapter X. of this work for the "Cock-penny" at Hawkshead.

† See descriptions, with plan, in the writer's paper "Obsolete and Semi-obsolete Appliances," p. 97.

border of two counties, all the cock-fighters had to do if their look-out signalled "police," was to bag their cocks, cross the Brathay, and turn to work in Westmorland.

But all over this end of the parish the old inhabitants will tell you places which were regularly resorted to, many no doubt since 1835. Amongst these were Colthouse, Sawrey Ground, Borwick Ground, a field between Barn gates and Outgate, Ironkeld, Arnside, and on the old road from High Cross to Monk Coniston.

Only recently (5th January, 1897) there died at the Miner's Cottage near Pull Wyke, at the age of 81, an old man called "Bobby" Bell, who in his early days was extremely well known among the local cock-fighting fraternity. He had been, we believe, to some extent a professional feeder of game cocks, although in this capacity he was not so well known as one Miles Askew, who lived at Waterside, Esthwaite, and afterwards at Hannikin. Though "Bobby" was somewhat infirm, and certainly quite innocent of having broken the law for many years, he was very reticent about the sport in which he made his reputation. An interesting fact, however, he remembered, namely, that it was the local custom sometimes to string up a bettor to the rafters of a barn, immured in a basket, a punishment which we know was inflicted on persons who bet more than they could pay at cock-fights.*

Apart from betting, cock-fighting was sometimes decidedly remunerative to the successful.† We have heard of a bird

* The shadow of a man thus suspended is shewn in Hogarth's picture of a cockpit, and the editor of "The Works of Mr. Hogarth Moralized," London, 1788, makes special reference to the subject.

† The following, bearing on Hawkshead diversions, are from "Home Life in North Lonsdale," by John Fell, "Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological and Antiquarian Society," XI., p. 38. The first is from a letter among the Rawlinson papers:—

"1763. I find by thine you have had fox hunts going forward as well as we. At one of 'em w'ch was the finest to be sure all the gent^l, had the Pleasure to get heartily drunk and many of them returned satisfied indeed with their diversions."

The source of the next is not stated, but it is evidently from some local family papers:—

" 1740	11 Nov.	Won at Cards at Newby Bridge	...	0	2	0
"	Nov. 14	Lost at Cards ... ..	...	0	0	2½
"	" 24	Won at Cards at Cartmel Club	...	0	18	6
1746	" ...	Won at Cards ... ..	...	0	14	0
"	" ...	Spent at Bouth Cockfight	...	0	1	2
"	" ...	Paid Mr. Richardson for the Cocks and feeding	... ..	0	10	0

which won for his master at different meetings half-a-dozen chairs, a load of meal, a quarter of beef, a watch, and a chest of drawers.

Of badger-baiting or drawing there is little record, although we do not doubt it was common enough, for it can be remembered that just about the date the prohibitory Act was passed, a badger was kept by one of the Warriners at Outgate, and regularly baited in a barrel.

Snaring.—A peculiar snare, chiefly for woodcock, but sometimes for other game birds, was formerly very much in use in Furness Fells, and doubtless in other parts of the Lakes, though we do not know that it was elsewhere used. Pennant describes it thus in the neighbourhood of Windermere:—"See on the plain part of these hills numbers of springes set for woodcocks, laid between tufts of heather, with avenues of small stones on each side to direct these foolish birds into the snares, for they will not hop over the pebbles." Wordsworth over a hundred years ago amused himself in this way on Hawkshead Moor, doubtless without leave from the landowners.

"T'was my joy
With store of springes o'er my shoulder hung
To range the open heights where woodcocks run
Along the smooth green turf. Through half the night,
Scudding away from snare to snare, I plied
That anxious visitation."

Prelude, Book II.

These snares, which were called *sprints*, are now nearly disused, but we could point out the lines of stones on many places in the fells. The chosen sites were generally dips or passes between rocks, and across the hollow a line of stones was placed touching each other. At one place a stone was omitted, and in the space the sprint was set. Poor "cock" came running through the hollow, and rather than hop the barrier made for the gap. A drawing of a sprint will be found in Macpherson's "Fauna of Lakeland," p. lxxxvii.

There were not many other diversions in the life of the dalesman. Story-telling and, no doubt to some extent, card

playing went on at home, but the fact is the dalesman had not learnt the want of diversion as we know it. His "day out" was market day, and after that he settled down for a week, and the scandal and what-not he had heard on Monday served to fill up gaps in the conversation till the next Monday came round. Not that other jollifications besides wrestling and cock-fighting were unknown, for the summer "clippins" or sheep shearings were noted for the feasting and mirth which accompanied them. "Merry neets" and "ald wife hakes" were gatherings at Christmastide, which was most strictly observed as a holiday from Christmas Eve to Twelfth Day. The former were dances at a public-house with a fiddler for orchestra; but it is said, and probably with truth, that the "Merry neet" was a late introduction into the life of the neighbourhood, and owed its origin to the decline of the weaving trade, which turned two-thirds of the people into farm hands, whom the 'statesmen, now fewer, did not care to entertain.* This is likely enough, for the merry nights of older times probably took place in the farm barns.

Besides the regular fair days, there were the Skelwith hay fair and the cherry fair at the Ferry. Both may be of great antiquity. The former we have mentioned before as connected with wrestling. The last was a free invitation to all to gather fruit from a clump of fine wild cherry trees which stood behind the old inn at the Ferry, during two or three consecutive Sundays at the cherry season. To this may be compared Martindale Cherry Sunday and Langwathby Plum Sunday, where exactly the same thing took place. In every case there was an inn adjoining, which of course benefited by the presence of the crowd of fruit-gatherers.

LAWLESSNESS.

The dalesman was not immaculate, and when he broke the law he generally did it with a vengeance and became a

* "Old Customs and Usages in the Lake District," by John Wilson, "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science," XII., p. 67, etc.

berserk. Little acts of meanness and petty theft were hardly known, so that if a dalesman broke out he became a violent criminal (though this was very rare) or else a persistent law defier.

Beck tells a curious story in his great work on Furness Abbey,* about a fatal quarrel between two yeomen called Roland and John Tayllour, which took place in the time of Abbot Banks, probably about 1529. The subject of the dispute was the office of under-bailiff of Finscott or Finsthwaite. Roland requested the Abbot to arrest John and bind him over to keep the peace, and this was done; but when the latter requested his liege lord to do the same by Roland, as he was going in fear of his life, the Abbot, who it was said was a kinsman of Roland, refused. John accused the Abbot of encouraging his adversary, stating that he "had entered into their quarrel with so savage and unchristian a spirit as to excite and even command Roland to become his murderer, promising to hold him harmless in case he committed the deed." Three days later the latter found John up a holly tree which he was pruning, and the sequel shows that the unfortunate man had good reason for his statement, for Roland, taking advantage of his position, brought him down by chopping at his legs with an axe. He then made an attempt to decapitate the wounded man, and failing to do so to his satisfaction he finished him off by cleaving his head open. Apparently through the Abbot's influence the murderer obtained a royal pardon. But the matter did not rest there. One Thomas Kendall, a London leather-seller, and perhaps a relative of the murdered man, took up the matter, and in his bill of complaint affirmed that the Abbot was never indicted as an accessory to the deed by reason of his influential position, and he prayed that this should be done as an example to the king's subjects.

In reply the Abbot stated that the bill was insufficient, and that the principal having been pardoned there could be no case

* Page 314.

against accessories; and he also denied the accusation, stating that all in his power had been done to reconcile the parties.

Unfortunately, in the interests of justice the ultimate issue of this curious case remains unrecorded. It was this same Abbot Banks whom we have already seen accused of unjustly levying a tax on his poor tenants of Colton, and everything we know of him tallies with his apparently unjust action in the Finsthwaite dispute.

This is a pretty bad case, but 140 years later we find in the oldest Register Book of the parish the record of a case of wholesale poisoning of exceptional terribleness. It is the only recorded murder in this volume of the Register; indeed, if we except the Finsthwaite case, as far as we know at present in the history of the parish; and to its credit we are glad to say that the murderer was not a Hawkshead man, but a Cumbrian. The entry is as follows:—

1672, "Aprill 8. Thomas Lancaster who for poyssonninge his owne family was Adjudg't att the Assizes att Lancaster to bee carried backe to his owne house att Hye=wrey where hee liv'd: and was there hang'd before his owne doore till hee was dead, for that very facte then was brought with a horse and a carr into the Coulthouse meadows and forthwith hunge upp in iron Chaynes on a Gibbet which was sett for that very purpose on the south=syde of Sawrey Casey neare unto the Pooll=stang: and there continued untill such tymes as hee rotted everye (?) bone from other"

The ruffian was brought up before Sir Daniel Fleming, of Rydal, and afterwards sentenced as above said. This is how Sir Daniel, writing on November 24th, 1671, to Sir Joseph Williamson, alludes to the case:—

"Being lately in Lancashire I received there—as a justice of the peace of that county—an information against one Thomas Lancaster, late of Threlkeld in Cumberland, who, it is very probable, hath committed the most horrid act that hath been heard of in this countrey. He marryed the 30th of January last a wife in Lancashire, who was agreed to be

married that very day or soon after, to another ; and her father afterwards conveyed all his reall estate to this Lancaster upon him giving security to pay severall sums of money to himselfe and his daughters. And through covetousness to save these and other payments it is very probable that Lancaster hath lately poysoned—with white arsenic—his wife, her father, her three sisters, her aunt, her cosingerman, and a servant boy, besides poyson given to severall of his neighbours—who are and have been sick—that people—as it is presumed—might think the rest dyed of a violent fever. I have committed him prisoner unto Lancaster Castle, and shall take what more evidence I can meet with or discover against the next assizes that he may there have a fair triall, and—if he be found guilty—such a punishment as the law shall inflict on such like offenders.”

On April 3rd, 1672, Sir Daniel wrote to Sir George Fletcher, at Hutton, mentioning that Lancaster had been convicted at Lancaster of poisoning eight persons, and was to be hanged in chains ; and in another letter to Sir William Wilde, Judge of the Common Pleas, dated April 24th, he intimated that the murderer had confessed to having poisoned “the old woman” with arsenic for a bribe of £24 from the heir to her estate, which was worth £16 per annum.*

The place where the gibbet stood at Pool Stang is yet called Gibbet Moss, and lies just beyond the pool bridge going to Colthouse on the right hand of the road. Although we are unaware of any record of any other hanging taking place here, and although it would appear from the entry that a special gibbet was placed here for Lancaster, it is a fact that elderly people can still remember the stump of the gibbet standing ; nay more, superstitions had grown up connected with it, of which we shall speak elsewhere. It is possible that this was the first and last gibbeting at this place, for it is always supposed, and probably correctly, that the monastic “*furca*” was on Gallow-barrow.

* For these letters see “Historical Manuscripts Commission,” Twelfth Report, Appendix Part VII., pp. 86, 90, 91.

The Bread Riots—Under the title of "The last popular risings in the Lancashire Lake district," printed in the "Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society,"* Mr. Craig Gibson has left a most interesting account of the proceedings of the quarrying population about Langdale and the district; and as there can be no doubt that many of those who took part were from the great quarries about Holme Ground and Hodgeclose, the rising merits a place here.

In 1799 and 1800 oatmeal had risen to eight shillings the stone of fourteen pounds, and as the quarrymen at the beginning of the century were largely local men, this was severely felt by them, as oatmeal was their staple food. The scarcity they laid at the door of the millers of Low Furness, who they believed were withholding their stores of meal in order to raise exorbitant prices. Accordingly, they decided on coercion, and mustering in Langdale, they marched, increasing in number as they went, through Tilberthwaite and by way of Coniston and Torver to Kirkby-in-Furness. Here at the mill they were disappointed in their expectation of finding a store, so they marched on by Pennington to Bardsey, where the mill was found to contain a store of meal, but upon the miller promising to take it to the Ulverston market, they did not molest him. They then proceeded to Ulverston, and finding a large barn full of meal, they seized the contents, and distributed part of it at the Market Cross amongst the women of the town. Complete order, however, seems to have been maintained among the ranks of the law-breakers; and they desisted from distributing the entire store upon the owner entering into the same undertaking as the miller at Bardsey.

After visiting other meal stores and coercing the millers in the same way, the quarrymen peaceably quitted the town and gained their homes after a raid of fifty miles. It does not appear that in Ulverston the authorities interfered with the rioters, nor were steps taken to punish them, probably

* Vol. IX., p. 45.

because the distress was known to be widespread, and because the proceedings, though lawless, were perfectly orderly.

Emboldened by their first success, however, the quarrymen, only a few years later, made a second descent from the fells to the plain; their grievance on this occasion being the compulsory recruiting for the militia. The system was indeed often little superior to conscription, because the men who were recruited were frequently after drafted into the regular army. The quarrymen made their appearance in Ulverston at the very time the magistrates were sitting to arrange the militia ballot for the coming year. The rioters forcibly entered the Sessions House, and all the magistrates except one were expelled. The one who stood his ground was Justice Brooks, and in order to bring his worship to reason a huge quarryman swung him through the open window, and holding him by the heels, flourished him about a bit head downwards. They then collected the papers, and in defiance of the Riot Act, which was read, they burned them at the market house, and left the town.

This was too flagrant a breach of the law to overlook, and accordingly a small body of cavalry was soon despatched by Coniston Lake to the fells in order to bring the headstrong dalemen to their wits. But the news travelled faster than the troops, and the rioters in their rocky fastness might laugh at cavalry. Nevertheless, the latter marched up to the quarries, and found, no doubt, that the great chasms of rock and underground passages were but ill-fitted for cavalry manœuvres. But the men were in the quarries, so the soldiers, leaving, we may imagine, their chargers outside, clambered in single file through the low wet levels—spurs, sabres, and all. As they entered the quarries the quarrymen climbed out at the top—all, tradition says, save one man, who was left sitting on an isolated rock, and as he could neither retreat nor be reached, there he remained coolly chaffing the “sodgers” in broad dialect.

From time to time other attempts were made to take the ringleaders, but without success. Yet it would seem that

the place was carefully "shadowed" by the authorities, for Mr. Gibson says that some of the rioters found it necessary to migrate to Borrowdale in Cumberland, while one or two gave themselves up, and a few even made their peace by enlisting. The Government, however, withdrew the prosecution, and those who gave themselves up escaped with the payment of rather heavy costs.

The Castlehow Robbers.—We have seen that in the fourteenth century there were outlaws in Furness fells, and we have suggested that Peel Island was in early mediæval times an outlaw's home, but we should hardly expect to find that only little over a hundred years ago anything of the sort remained. Yet such a tradition remains, but the evidence is too scanty to really say what the truth is. The story is that about that date there was a gang of robbers, the leader of which was one Castlehow, but it would appear that there were more than one of this name. Anyhow, Castlehow himself lived at Castlehow intake, still called after him, a high-lying breast of fell now on the Keenground estate, but at that date unenclosed. Here close to the old fell trackway to Satterthwaite, at about one mile from the town and seven hundred feet above the sea, he built himself a rude house, the foundations of which can still be seen. His depredations at last became such a nuisance that the people collected and, with the parish constable, contrived to take him unaware. Driven to the top of the stairs, he defended himself desperately with a pitchfork, but he was overpowered, and lodged in the lock-up at Hawkshead. In his hut considerable stolen property was discovered. However, from the lock-up he managed to escape, but, being discovered, he was pursued across the valley. Somewhere about the head of the lake, the pursuers coming up to him, one managed to seize him by the waistband of his breeches, and this giving way, and the breeches being unsecured by braces, down these garments dropped about his knees, and he was ignominiously captured.

Thus far an account, which appeared in *The Westmorland Gazette* of January 29th, 1887, and this is much the story as

generally heard. Others confusing, no doubt, Lancaster's case, add that he was lynched on the spot and gibbeted on Pool Stang, and at the same time his house was raided and was burned down. But it is strange how the story of so recent an occurrence should have got so utterly wrapped up in mystery as this has. Old folks talk of it, but they can give no date, and if we lacked all real record it might be a tradition of the middle ages. The Castlehows are generally spoken of in the plural, but one seems to have been head of a gang.

They are said to have been wallers; and a large and well-built barn at Keenground was traditionally built by them. It looks about one hundred years old. It is said that one of them, probably the head man, was of enormous strength, and that in the alehouses he could take a pewter pint and crush it in his palm like another man would a piece of paper.

The building on Castlehow has been a small one of two or three rooms, the only one sufficiently preserved to be measured being about nine yards by five yards. They seem, however, to have had other places of the same character, for a ruin very like it near High Cross Tarn was described to the writer as their hiding-place by one of his oldest and most clear-headed informants. Curiously this last place was alluded to by another old man by the name of Frankhousesteads, and was at one time said to be haunted by fairies. The name is known no longer, but as we shall see, one of the Castlehows was actually named Frank.

The only actual record on the subject is in the parish accounts, and although we get the actual date, the information is very meagre. About 1783 the "bill of Frank Castlehow" is more than once alluded to, but in the account book for 1784 and 1785 we get the following entries, which evidently relate to this matter:—

Monk Coniston with Skelwith Poor Account.

June 16. Paid Reckoning at Stampers upon a consultation with Mr. Braithwaite, Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Varty concerning Richard Castlehow as to giving him a certificate O I O

June 18.	Drawing a certificate for Richard Castlehow and attending the execution thereof by the Churchwardens and overseers	o 6 8
June 19.	Paid Thos. Stamper for journey to Mr. Taylor to get the certificate allowed and for expenses at the signing thereof by the Churchwardens and overseers	o 3 6
Sep. 7.	Paid John Robinson for apprehending Richard Castlehow and bringing him before Mr. Braithwaite, who committed him	o 13 0

In 1786-7 bread for Castlehow's wife is charged for.

It is tantalising to get no further than this in such a recent matter, but in the absence of written record there is nowhere to look, and the oldest inhabitants only vaguely remember hearing their fore-elders talk of it. We imagine that the Castlehows had more than one iron in the fire, and that while carrying on their honest trade in the town, their hill shelters—at which it is improbable perhaps that they really lived—were used by them as rendezvous for sheep-stealing forays, and possibly for actual highway robberies. They may (as, indeed, is sometimes asserted) have also carried on spirit distilling, but the two huts on Hawkshead moor and at High Cross are too near ancient highways for this purpose. For the same reason they could not be places of concealment from justice, and can only have served for night shelters and places of meeting.

Lanty Slee.—Forty years ago illicit distillation of spirit was not uncommon in the fells, where it was possible to carry on such operations in defiance of the excise officers: and among the names of those who defied the law none is so well remembered as that of Lancelot Slee, or “Lanty,” as he is generally called

From his surname we believe that Lanty was descended from one of the numerous offcome stocks which have been introduced by the quarrying and mining industries; but, no doubt, he was born in the district, so that in speech and manner he was a dalesman. He has been described to us as a stiff, fresh-

looking man with great power of endurance. But his persistence in law-breaking bespeaks a foreign origin, for generally the dalesmen are most amenable to law and order. Lanty Slee was, in 1849, a farmer at Low Colwith, but he afterwards removed to Low Arnside farm, which had been tenanted by William Pattinson. The isolated position of Arnside farm was eminently suited for Lanty's operations, and it was here he had his chief still in a snug retired field close to the farm.* The place is still called Lanty's Cave.

But Lanty did not content himself with one still. He had another at Hallgarth above Langdale, and a third at a quarry at Tilberthwaite. The late George Milligan, of Colthouse, told us that he worked in the quarry for four years close to the still without ever knowing it was there, so cleverly was it concealed. It does not, however, seem quite certain whether these stills were in operation all at once, or were new starts after being in trouble: perhaps the latter is the most probable. Though he seems to have been convicted and heavily fined several times, it was not until 1853 that the Arnside still was seized and he was compelled to clear out. The fact is that neighbours, high and low, winked at the "industry," and patronized it well. Dr. Dawson, who was on the magistrates' bench when Lanty last appeared, is said himself to have been a liberal patron, and the truth seems to be that, although the fines inflicted were very heavy, they were generally subsequently reduced, and being partly subscribed by the sympathizing neighbourhood, were insufficient to deter Lanty from re-opening his establishment. It is said that after working hard all day on his farm he would set out with dark, carrying the spirit in bladders to Seathwaite or Kendal, and be back again at work on his farm in the morning. Evidently he was an industrious man, even if his industry was ill-directed.

Lanty was not a safe man to thwart or quarrel with, yet he was informed against, more than once; indeed, his final disappearance from the parish was due to an enemy in the camp.

* The site may still be seen. Mr. Gillbanks, the owner, recently examined it to find if it was carefully flagged; but the flags, if they existed, had been removed, although the shape of the still is very apparent on the turf.

Before this took place, however, he was on one occasion informed against by one Fleming Parker, and, says tradition, when Slec next met him on a bridge at Coniston he "varra nigh brayed him to death."

The ultimate break-up of Lanty's Arnside operations took place in 1853, his conviction taking place on May 9th. It is generally said that Pattinson, who had tenanted Arnside before Slec, was to some extent in the business. However this may be, there is no question that it was through Pattinson that Lanty came to grief. Pattinson and another having quarrelled with Lanty, they laid an information against him, and the stills were seized, and he was brought before the Hawkshead bench of magistrates. Of those with whom we have talked there is a difference of opinion as to whether Lanty was imprisoned or not, but fined he was, and to the tune of £150 or thereabouts, which, however, was reduced afterwards to about one-half. Pattinson, perhaps remembering the *braying* of Fleming Parker, left the district, and settled at Kentmere, or, as an old farmer put it, "he was sa fleyt at what he'd done, he tak' away through t'churchyard and ower t'fells," without waiting to "interview" the unfortunate Lanty.

Although Lanty was an elderly man, between sixty and seventy, it is said, when this took place, it is doubtful if he ever gave up entirely his habits. He left Arnside, and purchased a field in Little Langdale, where he built a cottage called Ivy-howe, and it is said that not only did he have a still there, but another at Red Tarn, right up in the fells, near the three shire stones. Nevertheless, from the time he left Arnside there was little illicit spirit distillation in the parish.

Of course, of such a man there are still innumerable stories going in the district. It was not so long after the trial that Mr. John Usher, builder, was working, with some of his men, at a barn end at Sand Ground, and they were discussing whether Lanty would give up his ways or not. Slec who, unheard, had approached, stepped quietly into the ring, with "There nea ald ship, hooiver battered by t'storm, but she'll be ment (mended) up and gang again."

Lanty's whiskey was, it is said, good stuff. We found,

recently, an old man, working on the fellside near Arnside, who remembered him well. He chuckled as he told us how he and his master met Slee once, at or near the Stake Pass, and how Slee, having sold his master some rudd or ruddle (for Slee had discovered a vein of iron ore in the Langdale fells, and dug it to sell for marking sheep), asked him if he would like "some o' t'udder stuff." When the barrel of rudd came, a bottle of "t'udder stuff" was in it. And though, said my informant, it had nothing unusual in flavour, "my word, but it did warm ye afterwards." The usual price seems to have been about 10s. a gallon. But in negotiating a purchase it was necessary to be initiated; instead of asking for whiskey, you enquired if Lanty had a "good crop of *taties* this year."

On the occasion of the death of Mr. D. J. Flattely, in October, 1897, who was for some years supervisor of the excise in this district, a story of Lanty was related in the local press.

Lanty appeared one morning before the bench on the usual score, having spent the night in the lock-up, and a magistrate remarked, "I am told that you are able to furnish your friends with a glass of spirit at any time when desired, but I think we have broken the spell this time." Upon which our hero promptly drew from his pocket a full bottle, quietly remarking, "M'appen ye'r wrang. Will ye hev a touch?"

Bravado was indeed characteristic of the man, and sometimes served him in good stead; for once, forgetting it was the market day in Ulverston, he found himself right in the town with a big "sack of *taties*" on his back. He had gone too far to retire, and it lay between crossing the thronged market place or slipping down a side street, where he might be cleverly caught if anyone was on the look-out. Wisely enough he chose the former, and sauntered casually and quite unnoticed, "sack of *taties*" and all, through the crowd.

We have heard another story of Slee's queer life for which we can hardly vouch, because our informant, who is a person of great age, mixed the reminiscences of her life in a very

confusing manner. According to this, Slec was once living at Park Yeat, Coniston, an old house which we remember roofless for many years. A woman in the house was sent to get, from a barrel, a hornful of blasting powder, and in doing so she ignited the powder, which exploded, blowing off the roof; the woman's body was found, terribly burned, some distance away, and most strange, an infant which was in the house was bodily blown on to the top of the wall which had supported the roof, but whether it was killed or not our informant did not know. That the story has some foundation we feel no doubt, but we have never heard elsewhere that Lanty lived at this house at any time. From the same source we heard that with Lanty "there were allus twa girt black dogs with curly tails and thin heads (? greyhounds) that would guard him frae owt." Lanty died about 1878 or 1879. Some of his progeny, steady and respectable people, are still in the country; but as an old farmer remarked, Lanty was a "terrible strang man and a rough, and a girt age when he died." *

But though Lanty was best known, he was not the only distiller in the parish. It is said that a brother-in-law occupied himself the same way in Dale Park. And Miss Archibald, of Rusland Hall, informs me that it is well known that at Ashslack, at Ickenthwaite in Colton, there was a distillery in a hole beneath the floor of the stable. The hole could be entered by a trap-door in one of the stalls, and consequently was completely hidden by the bedding of the stable. On one occasion when a search was being made, the entire plant of the still was thrown into an adjacent peat bog.

GIPSIES, POTTERS, AND TINKERS.

The enclosure of our wastes was a terrible blow to the vagrant communities of gipsies and potters: and the former, partly in consequence of this, and partly owing to the

* We have omitted to say that on two occasions when Lanty was in trouble, his still, worm, and plant, which had been impounded and locked up in Ambleside, were missing in the morning, having been cleverly abstracted.

relentless persecution of the authorities, have disappeared rapidly during this century. The wonder of the thing is that these people stuck to their nomadic ways as long as they did; for vagabondism is in deadly opposition to high civilization. It was, however, in the eastern blood of the gipsies, and so long as there were great waste spaces left in England, which kept up for them feebly the tradition of the steppes and deserts of Asia, they could not change their life. With the enclosure of commons, and activity of rural police and magistracy, they became submerged or "flitted."

But gipsies do not seem to have been much known in the Lakes in the last few centuries. In the oldest Register book of the parish we find but one entry:—

Baptisms, 1632—"January xiiijth Thomas Washington
fil Henry an Egiptian,"

and the parish poor accounts contain, we believe, no mention of them. There were, however, a few about Hawkshead in the early part of the century, and they had their regular camping-grounds. The old road from High Cross to Monk Coniston, which is now disused, having been diverted, was once a favourite place, and here in summer they would camp sometimes three weeks at a time. Another of their haunts was a piece of unenclosed land on the border of Esthwaite on the Sawrey Road, and a little south of Waterside Cottage, formerly a poorhouse.

The latter, however, were said to be, not gipsies, but potters and tinkers, yet, although these classes are probably distinct in origin from gipsies, the line of demarcation between the two is rather hard to find now, for their common methods have drawn them together, and we would suggest that many potter families have gipsy blood in their veins. The Cumbrian potter, however, was in origin simply the indigenous vagrant, and Mr. Sullivan, in his "Cumberland and Westmorland Ancient and Modern," has suggested that this name comes from "pattering" or begging.

"Potterdom" is not yet extinct, and although the potters

camp less than formerly, their vagrant habits are still strong. The fact is, the itinerant tinker and seller of pots and besoms, who generally combines in his trade the buying of old iron, is by no means a useless member of society. The curious point is the way they keep, and always have kept, clannishly together. In Hawkshead, Outgate and Gallow-barrow were formerly centres for the potter and tinker community, and the latter is still so. The custom is for a fraternity of considerable numbers to rent a house among them, and take turns to be on the road. The house could not, indeed, contain the whole community at the same time, nor was it expected to do so. The names of Miller and Lowther were formerly common among the Hawkshead potters.

Here is a very characteristic letter, written by a daleswoman in the first half of last century. The original, which is before us, is in a clear bold hand, though the punctuation is weak. It came from a mass of MS. material relating to the parish, but Dalebottom, from where the letter is dated, is on Naddle Beck between Thirlmere and Keswick. It was written to a brother in Hawkshead parish, and it has strong local colouring. In it we note the itinerant tailor, in this case a rogue, who went from farm to farm making up clothes of the homespun. We get allusion to the hiring fairs, and to the "merrey nights," of which we have already said something. Mary Turner was probably the daughter of a small 'statesman, and it will be noticed the "merrey night" mentioned by her is not alluded to as taking place at a public-house, but at John Simpson's, probably a neighbour's, farm.

"To Mr. John Turner at Oxenfell

These "

"Louing Brother

These are To Let you know yt I am in good health as I hoope These will find you all a border of my mothers being at Dalebottom Last Munday night who Told me you heard I was for hiring into Keswick but I neuer

had such a thought but if I meet with a place in y^e Contery agreeable shall hire my mast^r will Direct me what he Can yt man yt was hear is yt Honest Talor which makes people Remember Him where he goos and I am afraid my mother will haue suffered The fate of others he was at a merrey night at J^{no} Simpsons and Lay with a young man and Got from him A guiney and 4^d or 5^d in money & Got of in y^e morning before y^e man mist his money They set out to seek him but Took y^e wrong way so if he Come To you Againe I give you This by way of Caution you may Let me know by Two Lines whethe (*sic.*) he Came back to you or how you proued with him my mast^r & Dame giues There Complements To you all no more at present but Duty to my mother and kind Loue to brothers and sisters I am yo^r Affecenat sist^r

Mary Turner

Dalebottom y^e 8th of
february 1753

And here we venture to produce apropos of nothing, or, at all events, of very little, an anecdote which we cannot find place for elsewhere. Fieldhead, since it became a private residence has changed occupants over and over again. Well, there lived there at one time one Smith, of whom we know little, save that he was frequently wanted for debt. Now Mr. Smith, like many other chronic debtors, was likewise a chronic humorist: and on one occasion, seeing the sheriff's officers approaching by the avenue, he waited until they had stabled their horses, and then, slipping out of his back-door, with "neatness and dispatch," he removed the shoes of the forefeet, and hung them in the sheriffian stirrups. This done, he mounted his own horse and rode to the front door, and gracefully saluting his guests through the window, he requested the pleasure of their company for a ride. They rushed to the stable, and he cantered round to observe the effects of his joke.

TRAFFIC.

Except on market day, Hawkshead, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, must have been a quiet little place—quieter even than now, when each morning in the season brings in its char-a-banc loads of tourists on their way from Windermere to Coniston. Little was there to wake it up, except the strings of pack-horses, with their jangling bells, on their way to and from Kendal. Prior to 1752 there were six pack-horses twice a week from Hawkshead to Kendal, and eighteen a week from Whitehaven; but before the latter place sprang into importance at the end of the seventeenth century, the pack-horses probably travelled from the old port of Ravenglass.

Mr. George Milligan, of Colthouse, who died an octogenarian in 1896, lived as a lad with his parents in Langdale, and he remembered well hearing his father talk about the pack-horse strings which came over Hardknott and Wrynose about a hundred years since. But this method of conveyance would, no doubt, remain over this high rough road long after main roads in the lower ground had been made passable for the huge carriers' wagons. Pack-horses, indeed, are now only known by tradition, but every octogenarian has a vivid remembrance of the numbers of wagons which crossed the parish, or converged from the centres of Keswick, Ambleside, Ulverston, and Broughton. Coaches there were none, for not even in more modern days, when the stage-coach system became fully developed, was there a coach road in the parish, except where the old road from Ulverston to Kendal entered the parish at Penny Bridge, and, passing through Bouth, left it at Newby Bridge.* So that such as made a journey to Kendal, Lancaster, or Ravenglass, did it on horseback, with their women folk on a pillion, if they had a mind to go with them.

The first mention of a wheeled conveyance we know is in

* This old line of traffic was succeeded by the straight road from Greenodd to Backbarrow in 1820. The old road was made a turnpike in 1761. See Stockdale's "*Annals of Cartmel*," p. 525.

the Parish Accounts for 1792, when a "chaise driver" is mentioned, but it is not clear if a chaise was then a local institution. At any rate, in 1819, when Green's "Guide" was published, there were "several decent inns at Hawkshead, but only one post-chaise, which is kept at the Red Lion." Thirty years later (1849), or perhaps even earlier, the Lakes had become fashionable, for we find the "Jenny Lind" coach running daily in summer from the Ferry to Coniston.

All this corroborates what we know, namely, that roads, that is in the sense which we know them, fitted for wheeled traffic, were practically unknown in the parish till a comparatively modern date. The best of them, those that were the lines of traffic, were no better than our roughest fell roads in the high ground, while in the valleys they became spongy, miry tracks, along which the traveller and his steed floundered, and occasionally, perhaps, stuck fast.

We have pointed out elsewhere that there were almost certainly two Roman roads through the district—one of them from Ambleside through Dale Park to about Penny Bridge and then to Dalton, and the other from the same centre to Ravenglass, by Hardknott and Wrynose, which skirted through the top of our parish about Colwith and Skelwith. The latter was of no importance in the history of our parish, though the line of traffic always remained; but the Dale Park route continued until this century the main approach to Hawkshead from Low Furness, in preference to the Satterthwaite and Grisedale road, which was formerly as much the worse, as it is now the better, of the two.

But the majority of the roads are simply track-ways or easements in origin, which in some cases have, from their convenience, ousted the older lines of traffic. The Norse settlers, with their innate independence, struck out from the old Roman lines, and squatted wherever their fancy dictated, and in progress of time tracks of communication were formed between their *thveits*, and *tuns*, and *sæts* which are now represented by our cross-roads and bridle-paths.

Thus the features of the ground on the eastern margin of

Coniston, and the smelting furnaces which were worked there at the beck mouths, led to a track from Nibthwaite to Coniston waterhead, and so to Ambleside and Hawkshead, which caused a partial abandonment of the Dale Park route. The tracks to the old chapelry of Satterthwaite had the same tendency: and in the same manner, in quite modern times, the formation of a good carriage road through Yewdale to Skelwith and Ambleside, has diverted much of the traffic from the road over High Cross—the ancient line of communication between Broughton and Ambleside. The Yewdale road was little but a track some forty years ago, and the road as now made has opened up to carriages some of the grandest scenery in the southern part of the Lakes.*

The ancient pack-horse route to Kendal followed the line of the modern road, crossing the head of Esthwaite by the same line as at present. When this track was originally made, all this level was bog, and a regular causeway had to be laid across it, from which it took the name of Sawrey Casey or Causeway, as we have seen in the entry about the gibbeting of Lancaster, the murderer. The "Pool" was crossed anciently by a wooden bridge, and in January, 1836, in cutting a drain, part of this bridge was found by one Hawkrigg. The road had been formed across the bog by placing quantities of juniper and ling, gathered on Colthouse Heights, upon the bog surface, and gravel heaped upon it. The original wooden bridge was followed by a stone one, which again was superseded by the modern iron structure. The road passed through the two Sawreys and over the Ferry—an institution possibly of Roman age, and of which we shall have more to say. Another old track led by Esthwaite and Graythwaite to Newby Bridge and the ancient town of Cartmel. It was most probably by this and the old road from Ulverston *via* Penny Bridge to Newby Bridge, that the ore from Low Furness was brought on pack-horses to the furnace at Cunsey. Another road, now but little used, and only just passable by a two-wheeled trap, leaves the old Ambleside-Coniston road at

* Teesdale's Map of Lancashire (1820) shows that the old road went behind instead of in front of High Yewdale Farm.

Borwick Ground, and winds over Borwick Ground Fell to Oxenfell, and thence to Langdale. This road is built up and constructed in a way which shows it once had more importance than now, and was probably the pack-horse road from Ravenglass (and later from Whitehaven) to Hawkshead and Kendal. For a caravan of pack animals, with no wheels to consider, a considerable saving of distance was thus made.

The dalesman of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as at the present day, found small need for long journeys, and even the roads which existed saw few passengers except the pack-horses and the local people. An occasional journey to Kendal, Ulverston, or Ambleside, and still more rarely to Keswick or Lancaster, was the furthest afield the 'statesman' stirred: most of these he would tramp and think little of it, and for the longer journeys his horse and small leather saddle-bag were all he wanted. Real highwaymen there were, as far as we know, none, for travellers worth robbing were too scarce; but the roads were so universally bad, so ill marked, and so devious, that easy it was at night to lose one's way, and then woe betide the luckless traveller on the fells, without compass, guide book, or Ordnance map.

Now and then a terrible storm would devastate the county, washing away roads and bridges, and on one occasion, as we shall see, causing great loss of life. In the "Oldest register book" we find a vivid description of such a calamity.

"Bee it remembered that upon the Tenth day of June att nighte in the yeare of our lord the one thousand sixxe hundred eighty and sixxe there was such a fearefull Thunder with fyre and rayne which occasioned such a terrible flood as the like of it was never seene in these parts by noe man liveinge; for it did throwe downe some houses and milles and tooke Away seuerall briggs; yea the water did run through houses and did much hurte to houses; besydes the water wash't upp greate trees by the roots and the becks and gills carried them with other greate trees stocks and greate stones a greate way off and layd them on men's ground; yea further the water did soe fiercely run down the hye-ways and made

such deepe holes and ditches in them that att seuerall places neither horse nor foote coulde passe; and besydes the becks and rivers did so breake out of their races as they broughte exceedinge great sand beds into men's ground att many places which did greate hurte the neuer like was knowne; I pray God of his greate mercy graunte that none which is now liveinge can never see the like againe."

In the possession of Miss Hodgson, of Green End, we find an interesting confirmation of this entry in a small MS. volume containing an account of the disbursement of a small charitable bequest left by James Braithwaite to the poor of Claife. The earliest memorandum about the charity is dated 1697-8, but before this date the volume has been used as a private account book, and among these entries occurs this note:—

"1686.—The great thunder, lightening and flood The 10 day of June, betwixt 6 and 10 in the afternoone." Mr. T. Taylor also, in his commonplace book, mentions that a workman employed by William Satterthwaite, in draining above Pool Bridge, discovered a part of a water-wheel and some pieces of building wood, "embedded in sand and beck-washed stones, with full three feet of peat moss upon them." These Mr. Taylor considered, and with much probability, were evidence of the 1686 storm. "Houses and milles" are mentioned in the Register, and the latter may have been the corn mill at Hawkshead Hall.*

Traffic and storms bring us to a very interesting subject—the Ferry crossing, and the serious fatality which occurred there in 1635, when nearly fifty persons were drowned. By local tradition, the victims were the entire wedding party returning from a wedding at Hawkshead Church, but of this we shall say more. It is very singular that although we have some information on the subject from more than one source, the accident is ignored in the Hawkshead Register, which otherwise is so full of matter of this character. The most authentic account we have is in an entry in the Grasmere Parish Register,

* For an almost equally destructive storm in modern times, see Chapter XI.

which was copied and supplied to me by Mr. Jennings, the Vicar. It is as follows:—

“The xixth of Octob. 1635 these were all drowned in Windermere Water in one boate coming over from Hawks-head

“Mr George Wilson of Kendall

John Beck, his wife, his son, and a servant maide of Kendall

Thomas Powe of Kendall

Randall Noble of Kendall

John Kitchens son of Strickland feild

John Pearson and his wife of Skelsmore

Christofer Phillipson of Ashes

Gervis Stricklands wife of Staveley

Mary daughter of John Phillipson

Thomas Milner boateman and his 2 daughters

Henry Pearson and Dorothea his sister

Tho: Bateman of Crooke

James Warriner of the same

John Satherwayte of the same

Christopher Willans wife

Rolland Strickland

Myles Powe

Anthony Sewart

Anthony Elleray

Richard Robinson

Thomas Parke son of Rolland

Willm Park of Colgarth

James Sewart

Myles Birkehead—son of Myles

Willm Roberts son of Thomas

Christoph: Parke of Colgarth Willms brother

Willm Rawes

Thomas Woods wife

Nicholas Bell wife

George Baxter and his wife

John Rowanson

Willm Holme
 Richard Robinson
 Willm Sewarts wife
 Richard Scills daughter
 Marke Harrisons wife
 Arthur Ellis
 Myles Rigge
 and 2 more or 3 and 7 horses and one that escaped."

Among the verses of Thomas Hoggart, of Troutbeck, commonly called "Ald Hoggart," we find the following on this subject:—

"Upon the 19th day of October 1630 the great Boat upon Windermere water sunck about sun setting, when was drowned fforty seaven persons and cleaven horses: ffrom suden Death Libera nos.

EPITAPH.

Weepe not sweet friends, but wipe away all teares,
 We are delivered from all human feares;
 Let no man rashly judge of this our fall,
 But rather let't a warning be to all,
 And let none censure what we did,
 Our thoughts were known to God, to mortals hid;
 And though our bodyes sunke into the deepe;
 Our soules did mount, and therefore do not weepe."*

In the "English Topographer" (1720) we have the following reference to the catastrophe:—

"Of Hawkshead we have some short account in the Preface to a book entitled, 'The Fatall Nuptiall; or the mournfull Marriage. Relating the heavy and lamentable Accident lately occurring by the drowning of 47 Persons, and some of these of Especiall Quality, in the water of Windermere in the North, October 19th, 1635. Lond. 1636. 12^{vo}."

This book or pamphlet is of very great rarity, and we have not even succeeded in seeing a copy in the National library.

* From "Remnants of Rhyme, by Thomas Hoggart, of Troutbeck, selected from an old MS. collection of his writings preserved by his descendants." Kendal, 1853.

It is also given in Worrall's "*Bibliotheca Legum*," where it is described as "Octavo, 2s." And Mr. T. Sanderson, who compiled a scrap bibliography of Cumbria, which is now in the Carlisle Library, notes that, like ourselves, he never saw or heard of a copy.

The late Mr. T. Taylor gives in his commonplace book a transcript of the Grasmere entry, and says also, that the couple whose marriage had been celebrated were Thomas Benson and Elizabeth Sawrey, who were married on Oct. 15th, the first a Bowness yeoman, and the bride of Sawrey (see Hawkshead Register).

Traditionally, also, he tells us that the unfortunate couple were buried beneath the yews in Bowness Church; but as these names are not in the Grasmere list of the victims, we may doubt the truth of this part of the story. Burn and Nicholson allude to the accident as a party returning from Hawkshead market, and Mr. Taylor notes that the 19th of October, 1635 (old style), was Monday, and market day, but there is no reason why there should not have been both a wedding and a market party together. The same storm is alluded to by Wharton, the Chronologist of Kendal, who says:—"Eighteenth of October 1635, the river Kent came into the Vestry. And 19th Thomas Miller, boatman, and 47 men and women were drowned in Windermere water, with 9 or 10 horses, having been at a wedding."

The Ferry accident brings us to the history of that institution, which is undoubtedly of great antiquity, situated as it is at the narrowest point on Windermere, where two projecting nabs lie opposite, suited admirably for landing places; and at a point on the most convenient line between Hawkshead and Kendal. A writer recently, in a local paper, maintained that it was only a few years subsequent to the Ferry accident that the public crossing was instituted at its present site; and that prior to that date it was at Miller Ground, where the Lake is at its widest. Besides the great improbability of such having ever been the case, there seems to be absolutely no evidence in favour of it.

Indeed, the documents we have examined prove almost conclusively the reverse. While giving here a summary of these evidences, we must relegate to an appendix the abstracts themselves.*

We have treated elsewhere of the disputes in pre-Reformation times concerning Windermere boundaries, and rights on the lake. After the Reformation, the lake was always regarded as parcel of the Richmond Fee, and we find that "Fishing and Ferry of Windermere, £6," was granted by Charles II., with other rents in the Richmond and Marquis Fees, to Queen Catherine as jointure.† The Lake from time immemorial has been divided into three "cubbles," or "cubles," and ten fisheries, some of which belong to the Rawlinson and Sandys families, and the £6 rent was always apportioned among all the proprietors of the fisheries. The right of ferriage, that is of carriage of goods, went with the fishing, but, as we shall see, was under distinct restrictions. As early as 1575, an award shows that the main ferry was in the middle cuble; and another award of 1670, shows that the right of ferriage over the whole lake then belonged to the Braithwaites, who were of Braithwaite Fold in Undermilbeck, on which estate was the promontory called Ferry Nab.‡ In 1699, Thomas Braithwaite attempted to raise the toll, which had always been one penny for the return journey; but this attempt raised a commotion among the inhabitants on both the Lancashire and Westmorland sides, and with the co-operation of the Sandys and Rawlinson families, it was agreed to challenge this, and to litigate if necessary. The articles of agreement (see Appendix) entered into are of especial interest as describing the Ferry (which the context shows

* See Appendix (Schedule of Ferry Deeds).

† Burn and Nicholson's "Westmorland," I., p. 60.

‡ The estate, or part of it, was also called "The Boat" for obvious reasons, and it does not seem improbable that there were two small properties or perhaps tenements with the two names. Mr. George Browne furnishes us with the following from the Windermere Parish Register:—

"Bapt. 1690, July 20th, Thomas, son of Thomas Braythwaite, of Boat in Stors.

Bapt. 1692, Nov. 20th, Agnes, daughter of Thomas Brathwaite, of Boat."

Like the Braithwaites, their kinsmen on the Lancashire side, the family sold their property, and in 1747 Mr. Fletcher Fleming was admitted tenant at the Manor Court of Undermilbeck, of Boat, at a yearly rent of 6s. 8d."

to be the present one), as having been used *time out of mind* and *before the memory of man*. In 1707, the tenure of the Ferry was transferred from the Braithwaites of Undermilbeck, to their kinsmen of Sawrey Extra, in the person of William Braithwaite of Satterhow, from whom it descended to Mr. George Braithwaite of Harrowslack, who was the owner at the end of the last century. Clarke, in his "Survey of the Lakes" (1789), mentions it as the property of Mr. Braithwaite of Harrowslack, and says the "Navigation Cross" is a freehold paying a "Merk Lord's rent." It was one of this family who built the station or summer house above; but the "Great Boat" or Ferry Inn itself, the Harrowslack, Briers, and Satterhow properties, were sold off piecemeal by the Braithwaites, in the same way that "Boat" and Braithwaite Fold on the Westmorland side left the family.* The Ferry itself passed about the commencement of the present century into the hands of the Curwen family, who had acquired the Island.

There is reason to think that an inn has stood for long at the Ferry. In an account book of Benjamin Browne, of Troutbeck, in 1724, is found "June: going to Hawkeshead at Great Boat, 8d"; and as the Ferry toll was a penny a head, the expenditure must have been in part for baiting and refreshment.

The conclusions are that the Ferry is a very old established concern. The lake here is about 500 yards wide; at Miller Ground about 1,600 yards. At the latter place are no nabs, no inn, and no places called "Boat." The situation was inconvenient for the Kendal-Hawkshead route, and pack-horses from Ravenglass to Kendal would go quicker and safer by adhering to the old road by Waterhead.

But that there was a crossing, and probably an old established one, from Miller Ground to a point a little

* In Clarke's "Survey," 1789, "Great Boate" (the Inn, etc.) belonged to Braithwaites, and also Harrowslack; but the Curwens then owned the Island. When Crosthwaite's 1794 map was published, the Ferry itself had passed to the Curwens, but Harrowslack belonged to Mr. Braithwaite Hodgson. At a later date the Hodgsons, who inherited the remaining Braithwaite properties, disposed of them, Harrowslack going to the Curwens, and Briers (now called Brierswood) more recently to J. R. Bridson, Esq. Satterhow, now in ruins, had gone at an earlier date to the Sandys family.

South of Belle Grange, was certainly the case. It was unimportant, taking only foot passengers from the Upper Claife, Brathay, and Outgate districts. Its landing stage can still be seen; and possibly it was known as "little boate," as distinct from the "great boate," which took pack-horses, wagons, and whatever came, and, being at the narrowest point, ran in most weathers.

Before about 1836 or 1837 there was no regular service of any sort for passengers up and down Windermere, but in one of these years, Mr. James Gibson, of Ambleside (father of the present Mr. Gibson, grocer), and Mr. White, of the Swan Hotel at Newby Bridge, commenced a joint concern for this purpose. The boats were large rowing boats and were two in number. Mr. Gibson's ran from Ambleside as far as the Ferry, and the passengers then changed into Mr. White's to complete their journey. The present Mr. Gibson remembers them well, as it was his duty to blow a horn in Ambleside to let the people know when the boat was about to start. Although the journey must have been a slow one in rough weather, it is said that very few days were missed.*

Steam traffic was introduced on to the lake in 1845 by a company, but the boat service continued for about a year after this date, when it was abandoned. The first steamer was the "Lady of the Lake," and the second, put on in 1848, and called the "Lord of the Isles," was burned in Bowness Bay; some say that it was the result of jealousy

* Mr. Gibson, through whose enterprise this concern was partly started, was the author of a pamphlet "A Guide to the Scenery on Windermere, 1843," which, although no doubt to some extent an advertisement of the Lake district, contains useful information. On page 5 he gives the following about his boat service :—

"There are likewise two public Boats, daily to Bowness and Ambleside, up the Lake a distance of 14 miles; the first Boat leaves Newby bridge at 8 o'clock in the Morning, meeting the one at the Ferry Inn which leaves Ambleside at the same hour; the second Boat leaves each place again at 1 o'clock in the Afternoon, and meets as before at the Ferry. This is a very great accommodation to visitors, as it affords an opportunity of seeing the whole Lake at a light expense, the fare being only three shillings; a private boat to the Ferry Inn, is charged five shillings, besides the Boatman, and five shillings to Bowness, the Boatman in such cases expects three shillings or three shillings and sixpence, as he has no other pay but what visitors give him."

on the part of the Windermere boatmen, who believed that steam traffic would do away with all pleasure boating; while according to another account, it was the consequence of sentimental agitation against the introduction of smoking funnels into a district of great natural beauty. It was not until 1859 that the steamer was launched on Coniston, and the same vessel is still in use.

Stockdale records the fact, that there were formerly two fords across the Leven river where it leaves Windermere. They were close together, and were probably ancient pack-horse crossings, before Newby bridge was built. The most northerly was opposite Fell Foot, and was 55 yards across, and on the average two or three feet deep. The other, called "Tinklers" Ford, was at the "Landing," which, in fact, takes its name from the ford, and was eighty yards across, and about two feet deep when the lake was normal. The rights of way to these fords were quite lost in Stockdale's time, for no doubt they had long been disused. Indeed, the fords do not exist, because at the introduction of steam traffic the shallows were cut through, presumably in the belief that steamers might eventually be taken all, or part of, the way to Newby bridge.*

Bridges are, naturally, very numerous in a country of the character of Hawkshead, and many appear to be very ancient. Indeed, if we take the trouble to get under any of the more important bridges on the main lines of traffic, such as Hawkshead Hall, Rothay or Brathay bridges, we may see that they have originally been very narrow structures, added to at different periods to get greater width. The original narrow bridge is the old pack-horse bridge, and is 'generally better built than the additions.†

It is, of course, impossible to say anything about the actual antiquity of the bridges. The most important on the north of the parish are Colwith, Skelwith, and Brathay bridges, all over

* Stockdale's "*Annals of Cartmel*," p. 524-526.

† In strengthening Rothay bridge in 1897, the pack-horse part was found to be in much the soundest condition.

the river Brathay. The latter two have, however, both been destroyed by spates and re-built; that at Skelwith fell on Oct. 1st, 1890. Brathay bridge, however, fell in the seventeenth century, but was re-built, and has been widened since. In Sir Daniel Fleming's account book we find this memorandum: "1681 Oct: 19 memorandum. This morning the greater arch of Brathay bridge did fall all into the river a little after Reginald Brathwaite son had gone over it with some cattle."

On the south, we have Newby bridge (marked in Gibson's edition of Camden, as New Bridge), Backbarrow and Low-wood bridges. Pool bridge is on the old road over Rusland Pool. Over the Crake are Penny, Spark, and Lowick bridges; but the first of these was originally Crake Ford. Bouthray bridge crosses the same river near the foot of Coniston.

Across Yewdale Beck there are several bridges: but Yewdale bridge itself, near the village, is probably comparatively modern: Shepherd bridge a little above it being, probably, the ancient pack-horse crossing. This old bridge now leads to "nowhere," but it is an ancient and substantial structure, which, although it has been widened, was originally only about seven feet across. Bannock stone bridge, rather below Yewdale bridge, consisted originally of two large flags thrown across the stream; its only interest lies in a tradition associated with it, which will be recorded elsewhere. Further up the same stream we find behind High Yewdale farm another old pack-horse bridge, called Shepherds' bridge, which owes its preservation to the diversion of the road in front of the farm, when it was made into a good carriage-way. The Ordnance Survey of 1850 shows the old line this road took over this bridge, and at the back of Penny House, and the old yew tree.

But amongst the minor bridges on the old track ways there are many picturesque examples, though they are too numerous to mention. Over Farra Grain Gill, near Satterthwaite, are two good instances, both of which have been

widened;* and Slater's bridge, over the Brathay, though just outside the boundaries of our parish, deserves mention as a characteristic example of the narrow bridge of the fell districts.†

ROMANCES.

The Finsthwaite "Princess."—

"Buried Clementina Johannes Sobiesky Douglass, of Waterside, Spinster, May the 16th day 1771."

So runs an entry in the Finsthwaite parish register. The questions are:—First, who was the lady bearing the name of the old pretender's wife, Maria Clementina Sobieski, who died in 1735? and second, how did she come to die at Finsthwaite?

But the coincidence of the baptismal names is not all. It is well known that Prince Charlie used "Douglas" as an incognito, though not, Mr. Andrew Lang thinks, before 1744 at the earliest. And there is a very curious local tradition. Who ever Clementina was, the old people of Finsthwaite

* Apparently in the seventeenth century, for amongst the Rawlinson papers we found the following:—

XVth die Maij 1663.

It is this day ordered at the priue sessions then at Uluerston that Mr. William Rawlinson of Graithwait doe imploy that money w^{ch} remaineth in his hands from the repair of foragrange Bridge and the wear at Powbridge beeing three pounds tenn shillings towards the repair of a bridge near Graithwa^t beeing in the highway twixt Cartmell and Hawksheade giuen under of hands the day and year aboue said.

Thomas Preston
Robert Rawlinson
Matth. Richardson

Another paper in the same bundle:—

Sessions p. Mr. Rawlingson charges of Grisdale Bridje.									
ffor ye p ^{re} cept fr wittnesses	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
drawinge ye bill yt indiptemt?	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
& wittnesses charges 5 ^s apiece	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
my fee	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	4
order for ye brigge money	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
Poole	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	13	4
solliciting ffee	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	8
motion to amend ye Poole	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	4
to ye clarke for mendinge it	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
							<hr/>		
							2	3	8

Srs I send you this account for ye Bridge yt you may account wth ye workmen fr soc Tho: Pennington desiret me ye Kest is yt

I am y^{or} servant R. Woodburne,

† See an engraving of it in a paper on "The Langdales," etc., by A. C. Gibson in "Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society," Vol. VIII., article IV.

have often heard her talked of, and she was always called the "Princess." She arrived, it is said, somewhere about 1745, with two servants, and lived in seclusion as a lodger at Waterside house, an old residence of the Taylor family; but it is rather uncertain who were the occupants at that date.* When she died and was buried, it is said that she refused to have tombstone or epitaph over her: tradition, however, said that the "Princess" had wondrous fair hair, and when digging a grave alongside, about 1867, a long lock of fair hair was turned out, and was, it is believed, subsequently re-interred.

There is no doubt there is here a curious nut for the local antiquary to crack. Miss Wakefield published the story in "Notes and Queries" in January, 1897, and although Chancellor Ferguson, Andrew Lang, and others have had a try, the mystery is as far from solution as ever.†

Prince Charlie himself was at Kendal, not so far away, in 1745: but this brings us no nearer. It was suggested by Chancellor Ferguson that she might be the mistress, or child by some irregular connection, of one Charles Douglas, fourth and last Lord Mordington, a title to which he succeeded but which he never bore. Douglas was one of the 127 prisoners against whom true bills were found by a grand jury at Carlisle in 1746, for being concerned in the rebellion: he died in 1755, and Clementina may have settled, after this, at Waterside for economy. But all this, as the Chancellor himself says, is "mere conjecture." Another idea is that she may have been a lunatic, who insisted on bearing this name, and who was boarded out in a place where she could give no trouble: there are other examples of well-born "cranks" treated thus in the North.

With this brief note we must leave this very curious story: for we have tried in vain to elucidate it. Some

* It contains an ancient oaken staircase, oak panelled doors, and R. T. H. 1675 c. R. A. in ornamental plaster work. R. T. H. are no doubt Taylor initials. The others we have not identified.

† In Miss Wakefield's account, a Scotch thistle is said to have been planted by a mysterious stranger after the burial: but we are credibly assured that the thistles which abound in the churchyard were planted by a recent vicar.

of the old people at Finsthwaite laugh us to scorn if we suggest that she was not really some near relative of the "bonny" prince, and a veritable princess. Patient research on the spot would probably sooner or later give a clue as to the identity: but we venture to think that the true story would prove much less sensational than the tradition.

A Coining Story.—The following very curious tale has never before been printed, and, indeed, it was only told us recently: but the station and character of our informant leaves no doubt whatever that it is an old Furness fells fireside tale. We neither wish to slander nor whitewash the time-honoured name of the family it concerns, but we believe the story to be an instance of the way in which, when handed from generation to generation and from hearth to hearth, a story may become completely diverted from the original form. If this be so, it should sound a note of warning to all collectors of folklore and tradition.

The copper mines at Greenburn on Weatherlam were once, runs the story, in the hands of the branch of the Rawlinsons which lived at Rusland Hall. Many of the miners were Germans, as they were also at Keswick and Coniston; and the ore of Greenburn was so excellent, that it occurred to these ingenious Teutons to fabricate guineas and half-guineas—a dangerous branch of industry. The coining plant was set up at Rusland and the affair thrived most monstrously, everybody, of course, thinking that the mines were the source of success, whereas the output of Rusland guineas was the true cause. Well, one day there was an "ald wife hake" at Hawkshead, and amongst the dancers was a Greenburn miner, with his pockets full of Rusland gold. Dancing was dancing in those days, and in one of his leaps and bounds, by ill luck, a pocket burst and away streamed, all over the floor, the beautiful glittering guineas of Rusland. News spread fast, and the truth being guessed at, the nearest county magnates authorised a search to be made at Rusland. But, naturally, there was some delay, and the news of the accident got to Rusland long

before the search-warrant. The Rawlinson of the period was away; but his wife was equal to the occasion. She had the guineas and the coining plant, in its entirety, carried down to Rusland Pool and thrown in: and there, says the story, they are unto this day.

Now Rusland Hall was inhabited by the family from the days of Thomas Rawlinson, who was born 1574, to



RUSLAND HALL, AS IT WAS.

From an old painting in possession of Mrs. Archibald.

William, who died there 1760, about which date it was purchased by the Walkers. The eldest son of the first named was Captain Rawlinson, who was present at Marston Moor, raised a body of local volunteer horse, and engaged in iron-smelting works at Force Mills. The place appears to have been bought by Thomas Rawlinson, but Captain Rawlinson is the first who is recorded to have lived there;

and probably he did so specially for the convenience of being near Force forge. His eldest son turned Quaker, and the present story emanates from a Quaker source.

The following lines in Baines' "Lancashire" may explain, we think, this very fishy story:—"There are no mines at work in this parish, nor are there any minerals found here, except *some fine specimens of copper ore, which are picked up occasionally near the brooks in Rusland.*"

The "fine specimens of copper ore" may, in the gossip of the country side, have become "guineas found in Rusland Pool"; and then, to explain such an occurrence, the coining story has grown up round it. As Rawlinson was smelting at Force forge, he may have also had a hand in the Greenburn mine, and the fact of his being an industrious and inventive man would signal him out to attach the tradition to.

The following pathetic story is given in one of a series of articles, in Vol. II. of the Lonsdale Magazine (1821), called "Letters from the Lakes," under the signature of Leonard Atkins. The writer gives it as told by a Graythwaite woodman to himself and his father. The story has strong local colouring, and is worth reprinting, partly because it is no doubt founded on fact, and partly because the Lonsdale Magazine is now rare and difficult to get.

Kitty Dawson, the Maniac of Graithwaite Woods.—"It is now a lang time sen (began the woodman) that Kitty Dawson leevd here. She was reckoned yan of the handsomest lasses, I suppose, about Dalepark, when she was a lass. Her father was a poor honest man, and a woodcutter like mysel; but Kitty was his only child, and she was, as ye may guess, a favourite. When she was about sixteen, she fell in with a young man that sometimes cut wood with her father. He was a stiddy young fellow; he was careful, and had saved a little matter of brass. Kitty's parents could see no objection to such a match, if they wod wait till she was a few years elder. They were looked on by ivery body as a par, and they both considered the coming

day as sartan, though delayed. I weel remember hearing my father tell it. He was cutting wood that day his sell, in that varra wood. They had just sitten down to their dinner, under some trees, for they thought it wod be a shower, it looked so black over the water. The storm came on. It was the terriblest thunderstorm, my father said, he ever knew. Jem Park, him that was to wed Kitty, had laid his head again the rock, when a thunder-bolt fell on it, and rolled down, and killed him dead on the spot. It was a sorry day at Dalepark when they took Jem home dead, for he was a lad that ivery body respected. Kitty, ye may be sure, took it terribly out. After the wood was done, the colliers left the cabin standing, as they commonly do, and Kitty went to it, and staid there as long as she lived. Her friends could niver persuade her to come back, for if they got her away by force, she was soon at the cabin again. She niver thought of leaving her cabin till she was hungered out, and then she wod just gang to some farmhouse, and tak what they had a mind to give her. This she wod carry back to her cabin, and live on it as long as it lasted, and then go off some whither for another supply. I can just rememmer, when I was a lile lad, being sent with a basket of meat sometimes to old Kitty's cabin, for ivery body was good to her, poor silly thing. When I went she wod just tak the basket out of my hand, and empty it, and give it me back again; but she hardly iver spoke, and at most only said, 'Good lad, good lad.' I can just recollect that one morning some gentlemen had been out with their guns; and, as usual, had looked in at Kitty's cabin to give her something, when they found her lying dead on the straw beyond the fire. Yan of em sent a cart, and had her taken to a house at Dalepark, and they buried her, I believe, at their own expense. If I was in the wood, I could show you the varra spot where old Kitty's cabin stood, for I have been at it many a time. But it's quite down lang sen, and hardly anybody knows that poor old Kitty Dawson ever lived there. Poor thing! poor thing!"

CHAPTER V.

INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS.

SHEEP AND SHEPHERDS.

A YEAR or so ago, a young Scottish farmer was a guest of the present writer. New to Lakeland, to its scenery, its climate, and its agricultural methods, he was taken abroad on to the fells for his first morning's walk. Our friend is a widely travelled man, but it was not long before we astonished him. A flock of Herdwick sheep crossed our path, skipped lightly over a 5-foot wall on our right and disappeared. "Good gracious," quoth our friend, "what on earth are those mangy animals?" "Those," we replied, somewhat in the tone of a menagerie showman, "are examples of the celebrated Herdwick sheep."

Herdwick sheep are indeed utterly unlike any other British breed, and their origin, being apparently distinct, has formed the subject of more than one theory. One of these is that the breed came from an Armada ship, wrecked near Muncaster in Cumberland;* while another says that they are descended from forty sheep which were saved from a Norse Viking ship wrecked somewhere on the coast.†

Widely different as these two traditions are, it will be seen that they agree in bringing our Herdwick sheep to the coast in a foreign vessel; and this very fact is, we

* See Ferguson's "History of Westmorland."

† Dickinson's "Cumbriana"; Ferguson's "Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland."

think, of considerable value as evidence that the tradition or traditions have a really ancient origin, and are in no way the result of modern imagination. Bearing in mind the widely separated dates of the Norse colonization and the Armada, we will leave it to our readers to draw their own conclusions when we have said what we have to say upon local sheep and sheep farming.

When we come to treat of dialect we shall note that a great proportion of the shepherding terms used by the dalesman are very Norse—many, indeed, being identical in Iceland, Norway and Cumbria. *Twinter* and *Trinter* (two and three winter sheep) and *Gimmers*, or ewe lambs, are examples. The *lug* mark is said to be the *log* mark or law mark, although it was, as we shall see, a punch mark in the "*lug*" or ear. Your fell shepherd daubed his sheep with a *smit* mark of ruddle or iron stain, and *smita* means "to smear" in Icelandic.*

Now, the necessity of marking all sheep with distinctive marks was, of course, the fact that many flocks summered in common upon the open fell. As a custom it appears to be in regular use in Scandinavia. In Norway each herd of reindeer has its own lug mark, and this can be appropriated by no one else. No one, it is said, may make a new mark; but that of an extinct herd must be bought; and all the marks are carefully registered. In Scandinavia indeed it seems that not only sheep and reindeer were marked, but also eider ducks and inanimate objects; but quadrupeds had the mark like our fell sheep on the ear. These marks were announced and registered at the Thing.†

* The Rev. J. Ellwood, of Torver, was the first to call attention to the Norse origin of these terms in the publications of the Local Antiquarian Society.

† See Lawrence Gomme's "Village Community," 1890, pp. 267 and 268. These flock marks the author seems to identify with house marks, such as are found in Denmark over doors, and on beams in Holstein. But these, and perhaps those on implements and inanimate objects, seem to us different in origin from flock marks which have a specific purpose. The house mark is probably in origin a totem, or tribal mark; and from them, in Lakeland, descended the custom of inscribing lintels and dating furniture. Perhaps also the unauthorised rude heraldic bearings that 'statesman families sometimes used.

Those who would study the intricacies of lug marking and smitting must turn to the pages of one of the many editions of

THE
SHEPHERD'S GUIDE,
OR
A DELINEATION
OF THE
WOOL AND EAR MARKS
OF THE DIFFERENT
STOCKS OF SHEEP
IN
LANCASHIRE, CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND.

generally called the "Sheep Book." The names of the different methods of cutting and punching the ear are as quaint as the engravings of the sheep themselves. *Bitted, clicked, cropped, forked, fold bitted, halved, keybitted, punched, ritted, shear bitted, sneck bitted, stove forked*, are the principal and well-recognised lug markings. The full description of the markings of a stock read, no doubt, strangely enough to a south country ear, and, for the benefit of such readers, we select one at random from the sheep book of 1849:—"John Clarke, Ickenthwaite (Colton). Cropped and punched near ear, under fold bitted far, a stroke over the fillets and down both lisks, and a pop on the tail head." Which means, the left ear cut straight off near the top and a circular hole punched through the portion left; a triangle cut out of the lower side of the right ear, a broad red stroke across the back and down the sides just in front of the hind legs, and a big splash of red where the tail joins the body.

The fell sheep are very small and very hardy—probably they can make a living on a poorer pasture than any other English breeds. They are grey-faced, and the fleece is, as a rule, grey, although there are blacks and browns. A Herdwick “tup,” or ram, with his curling horns, is a very pretty fellow indeed, for there is a sort of wild-game looking character about these sheep which contrasts strongly with our low-country breeds.

The fleece of the Herdwick sheep is poor, that is, it is



HERDWICK SHEEP WINTERING AT HAWKSHEAD HILL.

harder or more hairy than those of most breeds, and therefore poorer in quality and value. Consequently the offal (the skin, etc.,) of the sheep is of little value; and this militates against the breeding of pure Herdwick sheep, which would undoubtedly soon become extinct if it were not that the high ground will keep no other breeds.

Nevertheless, old hands will tell you that the character of the fell sheep has changed a good deal during the last generation, even in the pure stock. The older type is not now often to be found; but it was larger in bone, and the coats

were even harder and more hairy than those now seen. This change is considered to be due to breeding, but not to cross-breeding. Yet it must be remembered that although a pure bred stock is maintained for the fells, the same ewes have bred with Leicester and other rams, in order to have lambs for sale; and it is quite conceivable that this would suffice to change the character of the pure bred Herdwick lambs.

Fell sheep are generally called "Herdwick" sheep, a term that requires some explanation; especially as by misapprehension of the origin of the word it has become usual to call them "Herdwicks" instead of Herdwick sheep, and this involves a distinct error. Herdwick is really the name of a sheep farm, not of the sheep, and is formed of "herd" (a flock; or, perhaps in this case, one who tends a flock), and "wick," as in bailiwick, a district, or here, a run. Herdwick sheep are simply sheep kept at a herdwick, and to talk of the sheep themselves as "Herdwicks" only, is consequently ridiculous. For proofs that the above is the real application of the word, we need only look at the Commissioners' Certificate of the Abbey Revenues in the time of Henry VIII., to find a list of farms called "Herdwyks and Shepecots," and also the decree for abolishing the Blooms Smithies, in Elizabeth's time, for precisely the same use.

There appears to be no doubt that shepherding has always been the principal pursuit of the 'statesmen and farmers of Furness Fells. The question arises, can we make any comparison between the flocks kept in the Middle Ages and at the present day. If we again turn to Abbot Roger's rental, and the Commissioners' Certificate of 1537, we find that in the latter the chapel tithes of Hawkshead, which included lambs and other things, were valued at £90, but that the different items have not their value detailed. In the rental, however, nearly the same items amount to £87 10s. od., and here we have the specified information.

Imprimis Angnis xx^{xx} (20 score).

So that we may conclude, that if these were actually tithe rendered in kind, the four hundred lambs represented four

thousand lambs, dropped in the year, by the ewes belonging the fell farmers of the parish.

Herdwick sheep drop a smaller percentage of lambs than other sheep; about 90 per cent. is considered the average. Consequently we may consider that 4,000 lambs would represent about 4,450 breeding ewes. And, basing our calculations upon modern returns, we may add about one-fourth of the combined number of breeding ewes and lambs; in this class being included both tups,* yearlings, and gimmers. The result is—

Breeding ewes	...	...	...	...	4,450
Lambs under a year	...	...	...	...	4,000
					<hr/>
					8,450
Other sheep (tups, gimmers, etc.)	...				2,112
					<hr/>
Total of sheep of all kinds	...				10,562

The method of calculating the above stock is based upon the modern statistics and comparative tables. Manifestly in the time of Henry VIII., different methods may have been in use, and the comparative ratio of breeding sheep and non-breeding sheep may not have been quite the same. But the result may be probably accepted as not very wide of the mark.

Now, let us compare the modern estimates:—

					Sheep of all sorts.
Hawkshead	...	...	...	...	2,155
Claife	...	...	...	...	2,386
Monk Coniston	...	...	...	...	5,147
Skelwith	...	...	...	...	1,028
Satterthwaite	...	...	...	...	2,884
Colton, East	...	...	...	...	1,513
„ West	...	...	...	...	452
Rusland, Finsthwaite, and Haverthwaite	...				1,080
					<hr/>
Total	...	...			16,645 †

* One Herdwick ram or tup will serve 70 to 80 ewes.

† This estimate does not appear to include Nibthwaite, which probably carries another 1,800 or so; but the excessive number in Monk Coniston is probably due to the great proportion of that township being occupied by one estate, which has also a wide extent of fell across the Yewdale Beck, and outside the parish; and probably the Monk Coniston farmers run their sheep upon these,

So that it would seem that at the present day more than half as many more sheep are kept in Furness Fells than was the case about the Reformation.

The sole reason why fewer sheep were kept in the parish 360 years ago, is, we think, not difficult to find. The number which any farmer can keep, is that which he has sufficient ground in the valleys to winter, not that which there was sufficient fell to summer. At the time of the Reformation, large tracts at the valley bottoms, now well drained and dry, were still mere bogs and scrubby thicket. As this was gradually improved, more sheep could be wintered, and the fells still sufficed for the summer pasturage, and after a time, the farmers finding that actually a greater number of sheep could be kept in the cold season in the low ground, than their fells would support in summer, acquired rights of stint or pasturage in the higher fells of Cumberland and Westmorland, where the sheep farmers, having but little low ground, had plenty of fell to spare.

The Sheep Book of 1849 enumerates altogether, in the parish, sixty-three different flocks. In a good many cases, we find that two, and occasionally three flocks, were in the hands of one owner, or attached to one farm. If we treat these flocks as single ones, the number is reduced to forty-seven; but we need not do this, as probably most of these were separate flocks, which had fallen into the hands of a single owner. Moreover, the list is incomplete, for although forty-nine are enumerated in Hawkshead and Satterthwaite, and fourteen in Colton, none are given in the latter parish East of Rusland Pool. For this district we may add about seven flocks, giving us a total of seventy, which may be compared with the number of tenants (twenty-two for Colton, and forty-five for Hawkshead) who signed the agreements in 1509 and 1532, called "Bounden of the Pastur."

In another place we have pointed out that the number of sheep a commoner might summer on the fell or common, was limited to that which he had pasture sufficient to winter. This was of course abused, and there being no

method of checking the abuse, many commoners encroached, turning more sheep on to the common than they had any right, so that the flocks in general suffered. Ultimately, of course, this led to the enclosure of commons, which had both good and bad results. But before this took place, certain farms acquired, but at what period does not seem known, the right to send so many fell sheep into the high fells in the townships of St. John's Castlerigg, and Wythburn, in the manor of Crosthwaite and county of Cumberland. From whom these rights were originally obtained is hardly apparent. It would rather appear that at some date the lord of the manor let them off separately to the Furness men, because the fell was more than their own tenants could use. At any rate the farmer paid both lord's rent, tythe, and poor rates, for them, and they descended from father to son with the Hawkshead farms, or were sold with them.*

In the 1849 Sheep Book the farms possessing Cumberland and Westmorland stints are specified:—

John Forrest, Grisedale, goes in summer to Wythburn.

Montague Ainslie, Grisedale, goes in summer to Wythburn.

Jacob Keen, Howe, goes in summer to Wythburn.

Hugh Hawkrigg, Sawrey, goes in summer to Wythburn.

John Hawkrigg, Colthouse (two flocks), goes in summer to Wythburn.

George Hirdson, Atkinson Ground, goes in summer to Helvellyn.

Richard Jackson, Hawkshead, goes in summer to Wythburn.

John Croasdell, Skinnerhow (two flocks), goes in summer to Wythburn and Scandal.

William Salkeld, Skelwith Fold, goes in summer to Scandal.

George Black, Attwood, goes in summer to Seat Sandal.

John Pattinson, Park, goes in summer to Scandal.

* Apparently at one time the farmers of Low Furness held a similar right over the fells: West says "some tenants in Low Furness claim the privilege of summering a stated number of sheep on the commons; others claim and enjoy this privilege."

But there were also one or two farms in Colton, such as Longmire, which had also rights in Wythburn, so that in all there were some fourteen to sixteen flocks holding outside stints. Each of these farms owned so many stints, or, as they are sometimes termed, "grasses." The number of animals to each stint varied on different fells. In Wythburn it was one cow or ten sheep, while in Legberthwaite it was one cow or only five sheep. On Wythburn Fells it is said there are in all 523 stints, of which 189 were owned by persons out of the manor.*

It was in 1876 when the Manchester Corporation determined on acquiring land in the neighbourhood of Thirlmere for their proposed waterworks. Between that time and the completion of the works they acquired by purchase land, manorial rights, and the stints themselves, which exist no longer. A few of the Furness Fells farmers seem to have made arrangements to continue to send a few sheep, but last year the number who did so were two, Mr. Hugh Hawkrigg, of Sawrey, and Mr. John Dugdale, of Grisedale; and when we write this (1898) the latter remains the last of the stint-holders. Though we have had a good deal to say about these extra-parochial pastures, Hawkshead sheep-farming in no way depended upon them. The majority of the sheep were always summered upon the local fells. Mr. Hawkrigg, above referred to, tells us that although he has just stopped sending to Wythburn he will still keep some 300 sheep on Claife Heights, and his flock is of course only one of many.

The singular way in which Herdwick sheep follow their own part of the pasture is well known. Suppose that on a large open fell there are several individual flocks, each will keep its own part of the fellside, and although to some extent the members of the flocks will ramble and intermix during the day, they are said to return at sunset. This is

* This statement is from a pamphlet on the Thirlmere waterworks, "*Thirlmere to Manchester*," by J. Wilson, Ambleside, 1894, and the writer cannot vouch for its accuracy. If correct, and if all these stints were owned in Hawkshead, the farmers sent 1,890 sheep to Wythburn, or an average of about 126 sheep each.

called following their "heaf,"* and is said to be due partly to careful shepherding when the flock goes up. It is also said that when the sheep are brought down, stragglers will often make their way alone from the fells to their own home pasture, even from Wythburn fells to Colton.

It is still usual, when a farm is let, for the sheep to be valued by viewers on behalf of owner and tenant, and sometimes, but not always, the outgoing tenant is expected to offer any surplus stock he may have at a valuation.

With regard to the future of the Herdwick breed, it seems impossible that the pure stock can die out. No large sheep nor even half-bred Herdwick sheep will do on the fells, even on the Hawkshead Fells, such as Claife Heights; consequently, though the farmers may breed more half-bred lambs for sale, they cannot afford to leave their fells quite unstocked, however poorly the Herdwick sheep may pay.† But the fact that the offal of the last is of so little value militates against the farmers showing much enterprise, and consequently with the neglect of the sheep comes the depreciation of the fell itself. But Herdwick mutton, killed at the right age and in the right condition, is unapproachable, and we think that a little energy would suffice to make this better known, and to secure a much larger demand in the great towns than is now the case.

WEAVING.

It was of course natural that sooner or later a sheep country like Furness Fells should develop a weaving industry, but it was, of course, only a fairly modern development. In pre-Reformation times the fleeces of the fell sheep no doubt went to the Dalton market for sale, and very probably also yarn or homespun thread; but there is no evidence, and we think no reason to believe that woven material was at that

* Sometimes called "Heave" and "Heath" in books.

† Those who have tried to improve the fell sheep say that as soon as you get the breed with a better fleece, they refuse to pasture the higher fells; that is, they lose their true Herdwick hardiness. Breeders will also tell you that "Herdwicks" are the only sheep that will *face* a storm, all other sorts turn their tails to it.

time supplied as an export from the fell homesteads. It is very well worth noting that in Abbot Roger's rental we find that while he received from Hawkshead chapelry eighty stone of wool (tythe, it should be remembered), the churches of Dalton and Millom yielded only twenty stone and forty stone respectively of the same commodity. But on the other hand we may be sure that from a very early period (probably from the date when the Norse adventurers occupied the hillsides of the skin-clad aborigines) the fell-folk had been in the habit of not only spinning but also weaving rough homespun cloth for their own use. In the Lake dales, as in some out-of-the-way parts of the highlands, it is known that the earliest form of spinning, that by spindle and whorl, was recently occasionally practised. This was certainly the case in Borrowdale until three or four generations ago,* and it was not, we may be sure, the only survival of the primitive method.

Though there is absolutely no evidence to tell us when the spinning-wheel began to displace from general use the spindle and whorl, it is difficult to imagine that it was not fairly well introduced by the beginning of the seventeenth century. The rarity of old spinning-wheels at the present day is of no use as evidence, considering that in the early days of their disuse they were destroyed as rubbish, and but a little later were bought up by the avaricious dealers.

Elsewhere we have tried to show how it came that after the dissolution of the monasteries, the consequent change in the position of the markets, the necessity which arose for the dalesmen striking out a line for themselves, and the already long-established position of Kendal as a centre of the weaving industry,† all led to the institution of a market

* See the editor's paper, "Illustrations of Old Fashions and Obsolete Contrivances in Lakeland"; "Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological and Antiquarian Society," Vol. XV., p. 254. A copy of such a spindle and whorl was recently in possession of Mrs. Pepper, Manageress of the Langdale linen works; and the original (now lost) was known, by tradition in her family, to have been used in Borrowdale. The copy was recently doing duty in Central Africa, whither it was taken by a lady missionary to introduce spinning to a tribe who had never learned the art.

† John Kemp and his Flemish weavers settled at Kendal *temp.* Edward III.

at Hawkshead. Yet nearly all we can learn nowadays about the spinning and weaving that gave our old market town its brief spell of prosperity from early in the seventeenth century till the end of the eighteenth century, is to be gleaned only from the memory which old folks have of what their fore-elders told them. The men as well as the women folk carded the wool, and the yarn was always spun at home with distaff and wheel by the farmers' wives and daughters. Probably originally, also, it was the rule for each house to have its own handloom, but this was not the case at a more recent period, for looms had sprung up in many places in the parish which were worked by professional weavers, who were no doubt younger sons of the old 'statesman stocks.* The sites of some of these looms can still be remembered. There was a house at Hannikin which old people can still remember as full of weaving plant. At Hawkshead Hill there is a cottage which can still be traditionally remembered as a weaver's house, and not far away a piece of waste ground called Tenter Hill is the spot where the woven material was stretched to bleach. There was a fulling mill at Sawrey Extra when the Commissioners made their report in 1537, and a "fulling or walk mill" at Hawkshead Hill as late as 1737.

The yarn which was not kept for home use, was either sold in open market in Hawkshead, or exposed for examination under the penthouses which lined the market square, or else it was bought by the itinerant wool badgers or merchants' agents who came round from Kendal and elsewhere to the farms for this purpose.† But at a later date, when the market declined, it was often sent direct to Kendal by

* In some districts it seems, however, to have remained the custom for the farmers to do their own weaving. Mr. W. Wilson, in his interesting article in "Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Association," No. XII., p. 70, says this was the case, alluding, it seems, to Grasmere. Housman, however, in his "Topographical description of Cumberland," 1800, p. 58, says, "Every village is supplied with a weaver or two, who weave their home-made cloth"; while John Gough, the author of "Manners and Customs of Westmorland in the former part of the eighteenth century, by a Literary Antiquarian" (1812 and 1827), says that the home-made yarn was made into duffel and russet "by a neighbouring weaver."

† In the Hawkshead Register, 1599 (burials) :—
Septemb. xix., Jenatt Braithwt Badger wif.

the carriers' carts. The local weavers, however, who bought the yarn, manufactured chiefly linsey petticoats of various colours, and this and woven web went to Kendal to be disposed of to the merchants and shearman dyers.*

Now, with regard to the production of the looms for home use. West, writing his "Antiquities" in 1774, says:—"Within the memory of man, every family manufactured their own wearing apparel; at present few wear anything that is not imported." And John Gough, in "Manners and Customs of Westmorland" (1812), writes:—"One hundred years ago the people wore very little cloth of any kind that was not home spun." Speaking broadly, the date referred to by both these authors may be taken to mean 1710-1720, and it would appear that at that time the modern method of buying town-made cloth or clothes had not been introduced either into Low Furness or the district round Kendal.

Whatever was the exact date when these innovations commenced in those comparatively thickly-populated districts, there is every reason to believe that their appearance was considerably later among the fell districts, such as Hawkshead; and we imagine that could we step into the Market Place in Hawkshead a hundred years ago from the present day, we should find a very considerable proportion of the dalesmen dressed partly or entirely in homespun. Old methods and manners die hard in these secluded districts, and we have talked with more than one village elder who remembered seeing in their youths yet earlier elders who still appeared in the ancient garb.

But costume in the old days was not entirely of wool. Flax and hemp were grown in some quantity, and a flax mill is mentioned in the parish accounts in 1789.† These

* Linsey or Linsey woolsey (coarse cloth of mixed wool and linen) cost, in the memory of man (say 65 years ago), 3/- and 3/6 a yard. But this and kersey and duffel (both coarse woollens) occur in the churchwardens' accounts, to the chapter on which we must refer our readers for their value in the last century.

† Yet in Kendal in 1812 flax spinning was nearly forgotten and the hemp plant known by few.—"Manners and Customs of Westmorland."

Houseman gives exactly the same testimony. A cotton mill was established at Spark Bridge just outside our parish last century and worked till about 1860. It issued its own five-guinea notes.

came in for Sunday shirts for men and for female "fripperies," and of course also in the mixed linsey woolsey and the aprons, dark blue for weekdays and check for high days and holidays, which were still the regular thing for maidservants some sixty years ago. Flax was indeed spun by ladies (the Misses Machell, of Hollow Oak, to wit) at that date, and the use of the spinning-wheel in farms was still common, though far from universal; but before this date the local weaving had become extinct.

The old costume must have been picturesque enough. As far as we know the coats were of mixed black and white fleeces, duffel as it was called, always undyed, with brass buttons; knee breeches of the same, buttoning round the waist, for braces are a nineteenth century luxury; blue or grey homespun and hand-knit stockings, the heels of which were coated with pitch by the housewife, which kept them from quickly wearing to holes in the rough clogs, lined, as was the custom, for warmth, with straw; for in these homely times the 'statesman who wore shoes, except, perhaps, for church, was accounted of a high stomach. The petticoats and aprons of the women we have mentioned, and to this should be added the bedgown; clogs, like the men, but with brass instead of iron clasps. The itinerant tailor, who made up the clothes in the homestead, was a survival of the time in which the cloth was manufactured at the homestead only; but his profession lasted till long after the time when country people began to buy their cloth.

All these methods disappeared, not without a struggle, yet really very rapidly. Machinery and turnpike roads between them gave the deathblow to homespun. Very queerly reads the following paragraph, written in 1812 by a very close observer, on this question of ready-made cloth and clothes:—

"So great indeed is the aversion to a homespun dress at present that the poor buy a kind of second-hand finery from dealers in old clothes. . . . The trade may be censured as an encouragement to a spirit of pilfering in the capital,

* John Gough.

by extending the market for stolen goods; and it has a probable tendency to disseminate maladies in the country, for few substances receive contagion sooner, and preserve it longer, than cotton and woollen stuffs."

We will close our notes of yarn and weaving by a quotation from Mr. J. Taylor's commonplace book. He writes, about 1860, concerning the market:—

"All the old women and not a few young ones attended each Monday from a wide district round with the week's spinning. At this time (*i.e.*, about a century earlier) every cottager had a common right and kept a few sheep. Such a clatter of tongues did the old ladies create over their bargains with the manufacturers in attendance that 'like a garn market' became a common expression for any unusual hurricane of words, and still remains so."

After the introduction of machinery had caused the abandonment of the spinning-wheel, there was a popular song:—

"The farmers' daughters formerly were learned to card and spin,
And by their own industry good husbands they could win;
But now the cards and spinning-wheels are forced to take their chance,
And they've hopped off to boarding schools to learn to sing and dance."

The origin of the market by letters patent from James I. we have alluded to in the chapter on History, and these letters were, according to West, in the possession of the Sandys family at that time. Possibly they are so still, but Baines, in his "History of Lancashire" (p. 707), reported that they were believed to be lost; at any rate such enquiries as we have made have failed to find their present whereabouts, a fact much to be regretted, as they have never been published in any form. West's *precis* of their contents contains, moreover, an error—probably a slip of the pen or memory, but one which shows that he never saw the papers:—

"letters patent for a weekly market on every Monday at Hawkshead, and two fairs in the year; one to be held on the feast day of *St. Matthias*, and the day after; and the other on the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, and the day after."

St. Matthew's day (September 21st) was, however, the

day, not St. Matthias' (February 24th). These two days, September 21st and Holy Thursday, remained long the annual fair days; but at some date, apparently early this century, they were changed, the September one being altered to October 2nd, and the other one being held on the Monday previous to Ascension Day. Other fair days were observed on Easter Monday and Whit Monday; and the Easter and October fairs were the most important about fifty years ago.*

Though no one living can remember Hawkshead market or fairs in the best days of the town (for those were over a century ago), yet both within the memory of man were very busy scenes indeed. Sixty years ago, on fair days, the roads round were blocked with cattle and sheep; and the crowd in the market square was such that (an old farmer tells us) you might walk on the heads of the people. Hawkshead was still a centre for a large pastoral district, and great-boned dalesmen and buxom farm wenches flocked in from far and near. There were all the "publics" that there are to-day, and regular farmers' ordinaries, or hot dinners, were served in these, on fair days and market day. "Old men," we were recently told, "used to be seen then at the Inns, instead of young ones, as now." Naturally; because then, they were resorted to by substantial farmers, as a rendezvous for business, or for their well-earned dinners; whereas, they are now not much frequented, except as tourists' hostelries or village idlers' haunts.

The Hawkshead fairs were also hiring fairs; though, of course, this is a thing quite of the past. The farm hinds who wished to hire, "stood the fair," with a brog (bit of stick or straw) in their hats, to show what they were there for. There are still old men alive who hired thus, about fifty years ago, at the Easter and October fairs, in Hawkshead; but they are few and far between.

We have tried, in another Chapter, to tell our readers

* Martin's "*Natural History*" (1763) gives the old fair days, Holy Thursday and September 21st. So also the "*Lancs. Gazetteer*" of 1830; the correctness of which we doubt: for the new days were in use when Baines compiled his *County History*, printed in 1836 (Vol. IV., p. 707).

what the market square was like in the last century, before the Market-house was built. Well, even sixty years ago, though somewhat modernized, no doubt, it was a fairly busy scene on Mondays, and in summer on Mondays and Fridays. The open-arched rooms beneath the Market Hall were called the "shambles," and were occupied by about five butchers, who came to the market town from different parts of the parish. Anthony Gasketh, of Coniston Hall; Matthew Kirkby, of Watterson Ground; John Hawkrigg, of Sawrey; and others. Even about this time there were only two butchers in Ambleside, so that the Hawkshead men frequented that market as well as their own. Now-a-days there is absolutely no market, and the fairs are merely nominal. Machinery, railways, and auction marts have killed both.

Colton had its fairs as well as Hawkshead; and they were held at its toy capital of Bouth, on Whit Saturday, and the Saturday before or after October 1st. They are chiefly remembered for the wrestling and racing; but by 1848, the fair, like those of Hawkshead, was on its last legs. See what *Soulby's Advertiser* of that year says:—

"Saturday was the day fixed for this annual fair; which may now, in all but the name, be considered obsolete, for had it not been that the hounds from Thurstonville hunted round the village during the day, and that there were a few displays of pugilism (? wrestling or fights) in the evening, the place in all probability would have been as quiet as on any other day in the year."

WOODLAND INDUSTRIES.

Hawkshead, however, is not all heathery fell; though this has always been a predominant physical feature, and one which naturally gave rise to the two industries we have just described, one of which is extinct, while the other still lives. But in the old days, and even yet in a minor degree, High Furness was much of a woodland country; and this character originated a variety of lesser occupations, which though they have passed through vicissitudes, and to some

extent declined, are by no means extinct. Furness, in Stephen's Charter, is a "forest," and the term thus used, may be taken to mean, a tract largely wooded and little cultivated.*

The industries which have existed, or do exist, may be thus classed:—Coopery and Turnery, Swill making, Bobbin making, Charcoal burning, Iron smelting, Gunpowder works.

Now, if we again turn to the 1537 Commissioners' report, we have a very valuable and interesting entry, to show what the woodland industry in the fells, at the Reformation, consisted of:—

"Also there ys another yerely profytte commyng and growing of the said Woodes, called Grenchewe Bastyng, Blecking, byndyng, making of Sadeltrees, Cartwheles, Cuppes, Disshes, and many other thynges wrought by Cowpers and Turners, with makyng of Coles, and pannage of Hogges, according as *hath alwayes* ben accustomed to be made in the said woodes, to the yerely valewe by estymacyon of xiiijli vjs vijd."

The "cuppes and disshes" turned out by these cowpers and turners, were doubtless the same as the trenchers and piggins in use a hundred and fifty years ago.† The "cartwheles," clog wheels such as our grandfathers heard their fathers tell of; and the "sadeltrees" were the strong framings of the pack-saddles, on which nine-tenths of all merchandise must have been carried. The wonder is that we find cart wheels mentioned at such an early date. Probably they were made for use in the leveller trackways in plain Furness.

"Byndyng" no doubt means cooper's work generally, barrels, baskets, and hoops; while "bastyng" signifies the manufacture of coarse matting from bark rind. Possibly, in this case, it applies specially to the making of swills, or baskets of plaited bark, always and still a local industry. "Blecking" must be bleaching, used here, we take it, for the drying of bark; while "pannage of hogges" needs no explanation.

* "Forestam meam de Fudernesio et Wagneiam."

† In some districts dish-turners and wool-combers were itinerant workmen, who, like the tailors, went from house to house, and worked on the home material.
—John Gough, in "Manners and Customs."

These occupations we find sometimes illustrated in the old Register Book.

Burials, 1623, "May iijth, Jo: Taylor, Thrower." A Thrower is one who throws or turns an article on a lathe: and we sometimes find in old local inventories a "Thrown chair," meaning a chair in which the legs and back are turned instead of being roughly cut to shape.

Burials, 1673, "May 13: John Harrison Swiller, who dyed at Grysall."

There is but little grown timber in Furness Fells at the present day, and we shall see later on that both in 1537 and 1649, two different sets of Commissioners reported concerning the woodlands that there was little timber of any size. No doubt even by the earlier date the primeval forests had been fairly cleared, and the coppice woods, valuable for all the industries we are describing, had taken their place. But that there was still a considerable growth of timber somewhere in the district seems certain from the wealth of oak beams used, not only in the roofs of the farmhouses, but also in the furniture, both of which are unquestionably of seventeenth century date. We do not, however, think it necessary to suppose that this timber was brought from outside the parish. The Commissioners in the Survey of the Lordship of Furness Abbey in 1649,* report—"Memorandum.—There are growing, upon the lands of customary tenants in High Furness, between three and four thousand timber trees (most of them are of small growth), which estimate worth, to be sold, £713 10s. od."; and to this they add a memorandum that they certify concerning this timber; because, as the tenants are allowed to make coals (*i.e.*, charcoal for smelting) from the shredings, lops, tops, crops, under and other woods, other than actual timber, and dispose of the same to their uses, it appeared to them that timber itself was to be preserved: but as they found no actual grant reserving the timber to the crown, they refrain from certifying the timber as demisable, and content

* West's "Furness," First edition, p. 178.

themselves with a true copy of tenants' rights and grants, so that the trustees may form their own conclusions.

This right of the tenants to use the woods for charcoal was by the reservative clause in the bloomery decree, to which we shall have to revert: but we must note here that 1649 was probably about the beginning of the era of the re-erection of the farmhouses. The three or four thousand trees would probably suffice for the re-building and furnishing of all the houses in the parish; and by the eleventh item in the code of customs of the time of Elizabeth, the tenants had the *right* to demand, from the bailiff of the manor, timber for house repairs. Probably from 1649 to 1700, in pursuance of this right, the tenants claimed and cut down such timber as was then standing, most of which remains to this day in the roofs of the farms and shippens.

Coppice-wood is the natural growth springing from the roots of felled timber: and the large area of dense coppice which even yet covers the face of the southern part of the old parish of Hawkshead, is in this way the lineal representative of the primeval forest. It was encouraged and preserved because it was the only growth under which the rocky, ridgy ground of Satterthwaite and Colton could be made of any value at all. A variety of causes have, however, combined to reduce so greatly its value at the present day, that the owners of land in Colton and the surrounding districts find their estates extremely depreciated.

The practice now, as always, is to cut a coppice every fourteen to sixteen years. Mr. Hodgson, in his topographical description of Westmorland (printed, we believe, in 1820), tells us that its value at that date was £10 to £15 an acre, and if all of oak perhaps 20 guineas.* In 1866, Mr. A. C. Gibson writes that coppices "are tolerably profitable to the properties, the growth being sold about every fourteen years and fetching an average of £25 an acre."† At the

* £6 for the charcoal and £15 for the bark. He further tells us that hoops were sold in the wood at £5 a thousand: generally manufactured in the country and sent by sea to Liverpool.

† "Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society," Vol. VI., new series, p. 169. But this is certainly exaggerated: the average about that date not exceeding £17 or £18.

present day their value is £2 to £8 per acre, or an exceptionally good coppice may bring £10. The average price does not probably exceed £6.

In Whellan's "History of Westmorland," p. 41, we find some suggestive remarks upon the subject of coppice. It is there pointed out that the invention of spinning machinery, which doomed local spinning, created also the demand for bobbins, so that the coppice woods of Westmorland and Furness became of greater value. The writer shows, however, that this new occupation did not suffice to give employment to the many hands thrown idle by the lack of demand for home-spun articles. Coppice, even if it could supply the place of wheel and loom in local manufacture, could not hinder the dispersal of the fell-side industrial community.

This is only true to a certain point, because we have shown that the woodland industries existed and flourished long before bobbins were demanded; that it had its place indeed at the Reformation alongside the shepherding industry, when probably the local weaving was only slightly developed. No doubt when the demand for bobbins came in, a new stimulus was given to the care of the woods, and in parts of Satterthwaite and Colton new coppices were even planted: but this new stimulus did not more than counterbalance the value of woods for charcoal manufacture, which had long languished.

The sites of mills at the present day appear, in most cases, to have long been in use. There are bobbin mills at Force Forge and Stot Park, at both of which places they make hoops, swills, and similar things. At Cunsey there was also a bobbin mill, the history of which is curious, for it was originally a bloomery, then a bobbin mill, and now the site is occupied by electric works, from which the electric launches on Windermere are charged. At High Cunsey there is a saw-mill and hoopery; and at Thursgill, near Hawkshead Hill, there is a picturesque mill at the head of a deep ravine: but bobbins have not been made here since the reservoir on the fell above burst, although

swills are still made. There was another bobbin mill at Nibthwaite, and swills were also made at Oxenpark: and there are saw and various other mills at Hawkshead Hall, and elsewhere. At Skelwith bridge, now only a saw-mill, bobbins were formerly made: but the mill is on the Westmorland side of the river.

IRON SMELTING.

Iron smelting by charcoal is as much a woodland industry as those we have described, but we have left it to the last because in Hawkshead parish the recorded history of this occupation has to be examined alongside a mass of evidence of an archæological character by no means easy to sift, the reason being that at first sight the history and archæology seem much at variance in the conclusions they suggest.

All over High Furness, and also in the adjacent fell districts without the boundaries of the old parish, we meet with heaps of slag, the *débris*, evidently, of old iron smelting operations.

In every case of which the writer is aware these slag heaps or bloomerics are situated close to but not always on the actual edge of a beck, the situation sometimes being markedly close to a gill or ravine. The heaps vary much in size, being as a rule fairly well turfed over, and in a good many cases there are no signs of buildings to be traced in their vicinity.

The following is a list of all the sites we know in High Furness and neighbourhood at which there is evidence of iron-smelting having taken place. Those in italics are mere heaps of slag with no tradition attached to them, while of those printed in ordinary type there is, as we shall later see, historical record of smelting operations:—

LIST OF CHARCOAL SMELTING-HEARTHES IN THE ANCIENT PARISH OF HAWKSHEAD.

						Ordnance 6 in. Maps.
Backbarrow	...	...	...	...	...	12 N.W.
<i>Blelham Tarn</i>	...	...	...	...	...	2 S.W.
<i>Colthouse Heights</i>	...	...	...	...	...	5 N.W.

						Ordinance 6 in. Maps.
<i>Coniston Lake (W. side), Beck Leven</i>	...	...	...	...	...	4 S.E.
<i>Coniston Lake (W. side), below Parkamoor</i>	...	...	...	...	...	4 S.E.
<i>Coniston Lake (W. side), Selside Beck</i>	...	...	...	...	...	7 N.E.
Cunsey Mill	...	...	...	...	...	5 S.E.
Cunsey Forge	...	...	...	...	...	5 S.E.
<i>Elinghearth</i>	...	...	...	...	...	8 S.W.
<i>Finsthwaite "Cinder Hill," near Finsthwaite House</i>	...	...	...	...	...	8 S.W.
Force Forge	...	...	...	...	...	8 N.W.
Nibthwaite (Low Nibthwaite Forge)	...	...	...	...	...	7 S.E.
Penny Bridge Furnace?	...	...	...	...	...	11 N.E.
<i>Rusland, near Bethacar moor (Ashslack?)</i>	7	S.E.	or	8	N.W.	
<i>Rusland and Graythwaite (between) "Cinder Hill"</i>	8	N.W.				
<i>Rusland (three-quarters of a mile S.E.) between</i> <i>Birch Parrock and Walker Parrock</i>	...	...	...	...	...	8 S.W.
<i>Satterthwaite (Farragrain Bridge)</i>	...	...	...	...	...	5 S.W.
<i>Satterthwaite, Low Dale Park</i>	...	...	...	...	...	8 N.W.
Stot Park, near "Smithy Haw" Wood?	...	...	...	...	...	8 S.E.
<i>Tarn Gill, Tarn Hows, Monk Coniston</i>	...	...	...	...	...	2 S.W.

LANCASHIRE FELLS OUTSIDE THE PARISH OF HAWKSHEAD.

Coniston, The Forge	...	...	...	...	...	4 N.E.
<i>Coniston Lake, The Springs, Deer Park</i>	...	...	...	...	...	4 N.E.
<i>Coniston Lake, Water Park, Coniston Hall</i>	...	...	...	...	...	4 N.E.
<i>Coniston Lake, Harrison Coppice</i>	...	...	...	...	...	4 S.E.
<i>Coniston Lake, near Stable Harvey</i>	...	...	...	...	...	7 N.E.
<i>Coniston Lake, Moor Gill</i>	...	...	...	...	...	4 S.E.
<i>Dunnerdale, Cinderstone Beck, near Stonestar</i>	6 N.E.
Spark Bridge	11 N.E.

ANCIENT PARISH OF ULVERSTON.

Newton in Egton	11 S.E.
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ANCIENT PARISH OF CARTMEL.

Low Wood, River Leven	12 N.W.
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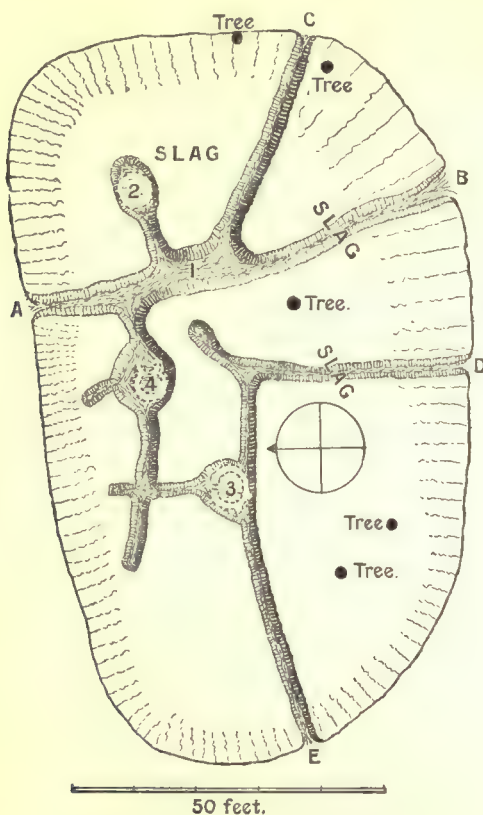
WESTMORLAND, ON CONFINES OF HAWKSHEAD PARISH.

Colwith Forge (Hacket)	25 S.E.
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CUMBERLAND, ON CONFINES OF LANCASHIRE.

Duddon Bridge, The Forge	88 E.
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This list is no doubt far from exhaustive, although we believe that the majority of slagheaps in the parish are here included. The number of sites in the district has indeed long attracted the attention of antiquaries, who, recognizing that the historical evidence we have of mediæval ironworking does not account for the large number of sites, have from



PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS AT SPRINGS BLOOMERY,
CONISTON HALL.

A B C D E Trenches. 2 3 4 Smelting-hearthis.

time to time advanced what appear to be wild and unnecessary theories as to their having been worked in Roman or Saxon times. Up to 1897, indeed, no one had thought of examining a bloomery-heap to see if any evidence of date or methods in use could be got by the aid of pick and shovel.

In 1897, however, the writer and Mr. W. G. Collingwood co-operated in digging out a large bloomery in Coniston Hall Park, a site which, though outside the parish of Hawkshead, was of exactly the same character as many of those within. The results, though disappointing, were not valueless, for foundations were laid bare of several rudely-constructed circular smelting-hearths, six to seven feet in diameter, which must have been in no way superior to many of the simple smelting-hearths which are in use, or were so until recently, among many semi-barbarous races.* No relics were discovered of the least use for fixing a date to that particular site, but this was no surprise, for iron-smelting does not necessitate, like some industries, the use of fictile vessels; nor are there necessarily rubbish heaps such as accumulate near inhabited sites. The lack of relics, indeed, is of no value whatever as evidence of the smelters at the Coniston Hall bloomery having been in a primitive stage of civilization.

Now, let us turn to local history and see what it has to tell us. In the Coucher Book of Furness Abbey there is, on the question of iron-working, a certain amount of evidence—not very definite, indeed, but still valuable. Direct allusion to smelting in the fells is wanting, but there is plenty to show that the industry was of a valuable and important character in pre-Reformation times. It was no doubt one of the Lord Abbot's sources of revenue. The ore was mined in the rich metalliferous country in Low Furness, and was conveyed to the fells because the plentiful supply of wood for charcoal made it worth while. Transport would be by pack-horse, and for the bloomeries on the edge of Coniston, and at Cunsey on Windermere, partly perhaps by the waterways of the two lakes.

On the subject of these operations in monastic days, Mr. Atkinson has, in the able preface to the Chetham Society's edition of the Coucher Book,† some interesting remarks. He

* For full descriptions of this bloomery, and the evidence it afforded (with a plan), see "Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological and Antiquarian Society," Vol. XV., p. 211, and "Archæological Journal," Vol. LV., p. 88.

† Vol. XIV., p. xii. *et seq.*

points out that in this book we get no information as to the extent to which iron was worked by the convent, what the fuel was, or whence it was obtained; while from the Gisburne (Guisborough) Chartulary we learn that there, no limit was placed on the use of timber and wood, while at Rievaulx we know that the monks might use dead wood only.

At Gisburne, too, we learn from him that the furnaces (*astra*, *faveræ*, *fabricæ*, *forgiæ*) were built in groups of three, four, or more; and that water was a desideratum, if not a necessity, although how it was utilized is not exactly ascertained. In the Furness Charters, however, we hear of water privileges, the water being "ad lavandum," *i.e.*, for washing the ore. The convent also bestowed on their tenants one ton of *livery* iron for repairing their ploughs and farm gear.*

For any definite information as to the operations in Furness Fells, we have, however, to wait till Reformation days: and we must again turn to that often quoted document, the Commissioners' Certificate of 1537.

"Also there ys moche wood growing in Furneyfells in the mounteynes there, as Byrk, Holey, Asshe, Ellers, Lyng, lytell shorte Okes, and other Undrewood, but no tymber of any valewe, wherin the Abbotts of the same late Monastery have ben accustomed to have a Smythey, and sometyme two or thre, kepte for making of Yron to th'use of their Monastary. And so nowe the said Commyssyoners have letten unto William Sandes and John Sawrey as moche of the said woodes that is to saye, of Byrkes, Ellers, Hasells, old rotten trees, and other undrewoodes, as wyll maynteyne iij Smytheys, for the whyche they ar content and agreed to paye yerely to the Kinges Highnes, as long as hit shall please his grace they shall occupye the same. xxli."

Here we find that the smelting industry formerly in the hands of the Monastery was leased to two private individuals, who no doubt entered the business with the intention of supplying the forged metal to the tenants of the Abbey manors,

* Atkinson's "Furness Coucher Book," Chetham Soc., Vol. XIV., p. 15; also Beck's "Annales Furnesienses," p. 14.

their needs in this respect having, it would appear, been satisfied, at any rate to some extent, direct from the Abbey prior to the Dissolution. But this speculation—for a speculation it unquestionably was—was not destined to be successful; for in the 7th Elizabeth (1564), we find the smithies being abolished by Royal decree, in consequence of the destruction of the woods, which were necessary for the flocks of High Furness. No doubt this may have been so; but it seems likely that the tenants were disgusted at finding themselves obliged to buy from a private firm that which, up to that date, they had received freely from their feudal lords in payment for their services. So long as the destruction of the woods entailed by the industry benefited directly the Abbey, and indirectly themselves, they had not grumbled; the case was different when all profits were passing into the pockets of private individuals.

The Royal decree, like the 1537 Report, is of no help in identifying the sites of the bloomeries. As it is printed in full in West's "Furness" (Appendix No. IX.), and is extremely diffuse and technical, we shall content ourselves with an abstract, for it is too important to pass over entirely in a volume devoted to the history of the parish.

The decree sets forth first that the Queen's woods in Hawkshead and Colton are threatened with decay due to the recently erected and farmed-out smithies; and that the tenants have had rights of browsing, fuel, and hedge repairs in the said woods, for which rent has been paid, in addition to their tenement rent; that the decay would effect, on the termination of the lease, a loss to the Crown of both the tenants' wood rents and the smithy rent. It therefore orders the abolishment and surrender of the smithies, stipulating that the tenants in future shall not only pay the usual lord's rents, but make good among them the £20 paid by the lessees for the smithies, the sum to be assessed among them by twenty-four specially chosen tenants. Then follows the order that the tenants are to provide forty men at arms, which we have alluded to in Chapter II., and this

is succeeded by a summary of the admission fines and other manor customs. And because after the closing of the said smithies, the tenants "shall hardly come by the same (*i.e.*, by iron), by reason that seldom any iron is brought, from the partes beyond the seas, into any of the coasts near adjoining . . . and when any shall happen to be brought . . . yet the same cannot scarce, by any probable means be carried . . . because that the ways . . . be so strait and dangerous, and do ly over such high mountains and stoney rocks, that no carriage of any weight can there pass," it was further enacted that all having wood upon their holdings over and above their hedge cart and plow boots, may make coals, burn and make iron for their own use, using the shreadings, tops, lops, crops, and underwood, but not timber, "at or in any iron smithies or other convenient place, at or upon *any water pool, stream, or beck*," in the lordship. The decree ends with a clause stating that should hereafter any lease be granted for smithies contrary to the tenor of the present decree, and such be not done away with in twelve months after complaint by the tenants, the £20 rent from the tenants shall cease, and, nevertheless, the new leases shall be void, and the present decree remain in force except as regards the payment of the rent of £20.

Hence arose the bloomsmithy or wood-rent mentioned in the 1649 survey, where it is shown that two-thirds of the total was paid by the tenants of Colton, Haverthwaite, Satterthwaite, Sawrey, and Graythwaite, which proves that the three smithies were in the southern half of the parish. In some townships it is not, indeed, yet extinguished. It was payable on the Feasts of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary and St. Michael the Archangel, *i.e.*, Lady Day and Michaelmas.

Nevertheless, about the middle of the seventeenth century, charcoal smelting furnaces were re-introduced into Hawkshead Parish as private ventures, and wood for charcoal becoming valuable, the tenants (as West tells us) enclosed their coppices

to preserve them for this purpose. Iron works were commenced at Force Forge by William Rawlinson, of Rusland Hall, the Parliamentary Captain, who died in 1680, and soon after at Cunsey, by Myles Sandys, of Graythwaite; this last we believe being upon the site of one of the old ones abolished by the Elizabethan decree. The Backbarrow forge was founded in 1710 by the Machell and Sandys families, and still works, being, we believe, the only charcoal forge left in Great Britain.* That at Newlands, which is in Ulverston parish, was founded in 1747, and it was in use as late as 1880. The Low Wood iron works were, we believe, erected about the same time as those at Backbarrow; at any rate they were in blast in 1766, at which date also were those at Low Nibthwaite. The Duddon Bridge works are shown on West's map, which is dated 1745, and that is believed to have been about the date of their foundation.

Concerning the numerous bloomeries outside the Abbey estates, little history is to be found; yet a careful search would almost certainly reveal numerous sites. In the thirteenth century William de Lancaster granted to the Canons of Conishead all the dead-wood in Blawith for their bloomeries, and we know from the report of the Keswick German miners, that about 1650 a smelting hearth was close to Coniston. In 1674 we find this entry in Sir Daniel Fleming's account book, "March 24, 1674-5. Given as earnest unto Charles Russell, hammer man now at Conswick (a clerical error for Cunsey, as the Hawkshead Register shows), to be hammer man at Coniston Forge, for 35s. per tun, to have grease for the bellowes, and leave for some sheep to go on the fell £00 05s. 00d."

The Forge at Hacket (Colwith) is bequeathed in the will of Gawen Braithwaite, of Ambleside, in 1653, and is mentioned in 1709 by the Rev. T. Robinson in his "Natural History of Cumberland." Coniston Forge was still in use in

* In 1898 considerable alterations were made at Backbarrow, but the old hearth still remains, with a lintel inscribed, T.M.W.R.S.C., 1711, ❀ H.A. & Co., 1870. The first date is no doubt that in which it was first put in blast, and the modern initials are those of Harrison, Ainslie & Co.

1750; but the numerous sites on the margin of Coniston have neither history nor tradition.*

It will thus be seen that during monastic days and up to 1564, there were at most three bloomeries, and these, no doubt, being so few in number, were probably upon a considerable scale. Very likely they were placed on the Crake and Leven, where fuel was plentiful and water-power excellent; and possibly one was at Cunsey, where, in later times, the Sandys family erected their hearth. Then follows a period of rather more than one hundred years, during which no bloomeries were in blast for commercial purposes, although the tenants no doubt exercised the privileges they had obtained under the 1564 decree, and smelted iron for their own use when and where they pleased.

To this period we venture to assign the numerous slag-heaps concerning which there is no tradition. When, after 1650, the big works came into operation, many of the private bloomeries would cease, and would soon be forgotten.

A word more about the archæology of the bloomeries. The loose condition of the slag in that examined at Coniston Hall seemed quite against the theory of any great antiquity. Yet, as the foundations of the hearths were but a course or two high, and few stones of size were found near them, the conclusion was that they had never been lofty erections, with stone chimneys, such as the Stückofen or improved Catalan type of forge; in fact, they appeared to have been as rude as smelting-hearths well could be. The fact that several

* The following may be of interest :—In 1738 Backbarrow turned out sixteen tons of pig iron, but in 1750 it produced about two hundred and sixty tons of bar iron, and in 1796 seven hundred and sixty-nine tons of cast iron. In 1750, Coniston Forge was turning out about eight tons of bar iron in the year. Spark Bridge Furnace produced one hundred and twenty tons in 1750, and in 1796 Newland was making seven hundred tons of cast iron. Duddon Bridge worked from about 1745 to 1866. At Cunsey Forge and Cunsey Mill there are separate heaps of slag. At the first-named also, there remains a charcoal store barn, remains of a mill-race, and, it is said, circular hearths. Force Forge was a smithy till about 1834. Mr. W. G. Collingwood says that the landing-place for Cunsey on Windermere was at Hammerhole, close to Home Well: but there is the regular "ore gate" also, leading towards the Hawkshead Road. Elinghearth is presumably a bloomery site: for West in his "Furness," 1774, Appendix No. IX., defines "eling" as wood ashes. The landing-place on Coniston, for Coniston Forge, is, according to Mr. Collingwood, at Robin Wray, near the present steamer pier; and perhaps that for the bloomery at Tarn Gill, at the head of the Lake, because occasionally slag fragments are found at these places.

hearths were found in the same heap, indicated probably, that as work went on, it was easier to build new hearths, utilizing as far as possible the material of the old ones, than to clear the *debris* from the site; possibly also it means that to extract the bloom it was necessary to partly destroy the hearth. All this evidence of rudeness is just what we should expect in a case where fellside farmers and shepherds were suddenly turned to iron smelting; an operation of which they had hitherto had absolutely no knowledge. We cannot, indeed, see that there is any necessity to argue further against the idea that these hearths are early, because they are not elaborate in construction.

There remains, however, a point never properly cleared up—the question how the blast in these minor hearths was obtained, and for what reason the smelting was performed in the vicinity of a running stream, a noticeable feature, as we have said, at every site, and one specially allowed for in the decree.

The running water could hardly have been meant for washing only, because these bloomeries on the lake margins are also carefully placed by a beck-side. Possibly, running water is more effective; yet it is impossible to imagine that as the ore had to be carried all the way from Low Furness, it would not be cleansed at the pit-mouth to lighten weight and lessen bulk. It naturally occurs to one that the object was to carry a little mill-race and work a water-wheel to press the bellows. But against this, there are almost insuperable arguments. To begin with, at least at two sites, Farra Grain and Tarn Gill, the slag-heap is on a hillock right above the ravine, in such a position that it would be nearly impossible, or, at any rate, most difficult, to conduct the mill-race to the hearth. And yet suitable sites are close by, on the very edge of the beck, where such difficulties would not exist. Again, at other sites, as at the excavated bloomery, the hearths were fifty yards from the beck, which was quite unnecessary. It should be noticed also that in these bloomeries there is no trace in

the soil of any mill-race, although at Cunsey, which we know was worked at a late date and for commercial purposes, the race can be seen; but Cunsey forge was certainly a bigger affair.

The conclusions we have come to, are, that in these minor private works there was in all cases a small smithy at hand for working up the metal on the spot. This would account for the necessity of running water, and would save the tenants the trouble of carrying their blooms to distant centres. Such was even the case in the larger and more modern works, which still in nearly all cases are called "Forges"; so that in High Furness it does not seem that the furnace master and the forge master were distinct callings; at any rate they were both practised on the same site.

If these arguments be considered conclusive, it follows that at the smaller hearths the primitive methods of smelting by natural air-blast or by hand-bellows were in use; a conclusion which, under the circumstances, we have no reason to be astonished at, taking into account the peculiar conditions under which the local smelting must have been carried on after 1564.

Side by side with iron-smelting went the sister industry, or perhaps we should here call it the parent industry, of burning charcoal. "Making of Coles," we find in the 1537 report as well as in the 1564 decree. Coal was charcoal, and one who burned for charcoal was a "colier" down to a much later date than this.—

Burials 1701: "December 10 Clement Holm colier de Deal Park."

The re-opening of the larger smelting works in the seventeenth century stimulated the charcoal-burning at once. In 1662 we find Rawlinson buying it in large quantities for his new Force Forge Mills. Here is a memorandum on the subject from the Graythwaite Old Hall deed boxes:—

"The 4th day of August 1662.

Memorand That Mr. Thomas Massock chirurgion the day

and yeare abousaid haue sold fourteene wainloads of charre-coales to be deliuered at Boweth unto William Rawlinson of Graythw^t for xix^s a loade at pitteing, and hath receiued v^{li} in pte of paymt thereof and the remaindr when they are deliuered, w^{ch} is to be at or before the xijth day of October next wittnes my hand the day and yeare aboue written.

Tho: Mossocke.

wittnes Margaret Bayly.

X marke."

And thirteen years later (1675) Col. W. Fleming informs his brother that coals at 17/- a ton were delivered at Coniston.

The stimulus in charcoal-burning was the cause of a decided increase in the woodcraft class in Colton and Satterthwaite. These "coliers" became a wood-dwelling race, living during the time they were at work in strange circular huts built of poles interwoven with twigs and bits of bark, and "thacked" with ling and turf. They do so still; and probably these rude huts were made exactly in the same form in early mediæval days, if not, indeed, in pre-historic ages. There was a regular lake traffic in charcoal boats both on Windermere and Coniston. Clappersgate, near Ambleside, was the charcoal and slate port at the north-end of Windermere* as late as 1819; and Mr. Gilpin says that charcoal was regularly brought to Bowness and carried thence into Westmorland in 1772.†

When charcoal-smelting was dying out, another use for the woods was found and adopted to some extent. Gunpowder works were started at Black Beck, near Bouth, and at Low Wood, just over the Leven, and Elterwater in Westmorland. Though the latter two are not actually within the parish, they are both the centres of wooded districts which lie half within its bounds. Many of the operatives,

* Robinson's "Guide to the Lakes," 1819.

† "Observations relative to picturesque beauty made in 1772," by William Gilpin. Published 1792.

however, at these works are not local women, being chiefly, we believe, Scottish. Disastrous explosions have more than once happened at both Low Wood and Black Beck. On the 25th July, 1868, at the latter place, nine persons lost their lives; and on the 28th November the same year at Low Wood works, five persons were killed. And as late as on the 19th January, 1898, a drying-stove at Black Beck, containing 3,500 lbs. of gunpowder, blew up, absolutely destroying the building itself, but, most fortunately, with no loss of life. The report of the Government Inspector, which lies before us, contains his conclusions, which show that the accident was due to ignition of an accumulation of powder-dust on the iron ceiling of the stove, probably caused by the falling in of an old roof.

MINING.

Mining never came to anything in Hawkshead parish. The copper mines at Coniston, of unknown antiquity, and employing a hundred and forty hands in Elizabethan times, came to an end in the Civil wars; although they were re-opened and worked in a moribund fashion during the eighteenth century. In 1820 they were again discontinued, but about 1835 they took a new lease of life, so that by 1855 monthly wages were paid to the amount of £2,000.* This revival caused all sorts of people to grub and scratch in the hope of finding other rich veins, but no successful finds were made in Hawkshead. At Pull Beck, near Holmes Head farm (near the road from Barngates into Pull Wyke), may be seen the mouths of two workings which were opened for copper sometime during the copper boom.† In Parks Gill, above Hawkshead Hill, an attempt was also made to get copper, and it is said a shipload or two went from there, but these workings never came to anything. Rather more interesting is an old working in Dale Park, just above Thwaite Head, and on the west side of Dale

* Collingwood's "Book of Coniston," p. 82.

† There is a third working near Pull cottage, and an old shaft in a field near Pull brow; above which, near the waterfall, is another short level.

Park Beck. Here is the mouth of a working of unknown length, and close by a pit deep in the rock ; but both are always full of water, and it is not possible to explore them. This working, however, was for silver and lead, and the metalliferous seam can be traced in the vicinity as an outcrop.* It is locally believed to have been first commenced by Mr. John Walker, who about 1760 purchased Rusland Hall from the ironworking Rawlinsons. Bits of copper ore are sometimes turned out of Rusland Pool, which perhaps put him on the scent of a mine. Anyhow, it did no good as far as we can learn, although the Archibalds, who inherited the Rusland Hall estate from Walker, have at least once opened it up and made efforts to work it. It is now so forgotten that it is very difficult to get any information about it.

QUARRYING.

Although the finest roofing-slate in England comes from a corner of this parish, and building-stone is found everywhere, it does not appear that any quarrying, except what the tenants of the manor required for their own purposes, was carried on in old times, nor indeed until last century. There is no mention of stone as a profit under the Monastery ; because, although the local building-stone is good of its sort, all the surrounding districts were provided with as good metal, and in Low Furness they had their own red sandstone, an infinitely more tractable material.

But with regard to the green slate which is now used for roofing, it seems probable that the present methods of riving this extremely hard stone into quite thin slabs was only recently discovered. In early days it is believed that most houses were thatched, but where an old roof exists it is of thick slabs of green slate of great weight. In the old days the dalesmen do not appear to have gone deep for the slate, but simply quarried the surface. On Borwick Ground Fell there is an old quarry, whence by tradition Hawkshead roofing-slate was always obtained at one time. This quarry is in the same geological formation as

* In 1849 30 lbs. of lead ore were found at Meadow Lodge, Blawith—no doubt the same seam.

the great quarries at Tilberthwaite, yet all the work seems to have been done on the surface.

In the last century, however, quarrying developed rapidly, and on the Coniston flag formation various quarries were opened. From one near the writer's home the Swainsons sent flags out from about 1720, even as far as Ulverston church. These were not roofing-slates, but flags for floors and walls. Other flag quarries, probably of similar age, are Coldwell and Brathay quarries near Pull Wyke, the latter being still worked. These flag quarries are in upper silurian rocks.

The green slate for roofing is a totally different material. It is a consolidated volcanic ash of the lower silurian system, and of extreme hardness. In the north-west corner of the parish there are large quarries in this rock, about Hodgeclose and Holme Ground Fell. Across Pierce How Beck we are in the manor of Tilberthwaite, and in this district the fellsides are simply honeycombed with quarries and levels.

It is possible that the increase in these works in the eighteenth century was due to the slack condition of the mines. At any rate, by West's time they had assumed large proportions. He calls them "the most considerable slate quarries in the kingdom," and tells us that the principal quarries were in the hands of a Hawkshead firm of Rigges, who exported 1,100 tons a year and upwards; the carriage from the quarries to Greenodd being 6s. 10d. to 7s. 10d. a ton.* Like the copper ore from Coniston the slates were carried to Kirkby Quay, near Waterhead, and then shipped on sailing boats to Nibthwaite, where the copper mines had already established a regular little port. Green, in his guide book in 1819, describes the quay at the head of the lake with its carts of slates and sailing vessels as a "scene of bustle and animation."

* In 1786 Westmorland roofing slate sold in Kendal from £1 3s. 4d. for the coarsest sort to £1 15s. 0d. for the finest.—Watson's "Chemical Essays," 1786, Vol. IV., p. 320.

In spite of the acknowledged excellence of the slates themselves, it is an industry that has paid but poorly of late years. The reasons seem to be that the facilities for transport are bad, there being no railway nearer than Coniston. There is further, not only the outside competition of cheap Welsh slate to contend with, but the great number of local quarries, not in Tilberthwaite and Holme Ground only, but also in other parts of the Lakes, adds to the difficulties. Even the quarries on and about the boundary of our parish are in the hands of several firms, which, if they could arrange to amalgamate, would have a far better chance of securing a satisfactory market. It would, however, be out of place in this volume to go into statistics or methods of modern quarrying.*

LIME BURNING.

Although a band of limestone runs right across the northern part of our parish, entering it in Yewdale and leaving at the side of Windermere between Wray and Brathay, the burning of lime was, and is, but little practised. The truth is that the use of lime on land was not much known. Both Hodgson and Housman testify to this in Cumberland and Westmorland, even as late as this century, and they both give the same reason, namely, the dearth of coal for burning it. Bishop Watson (Llandaff) wrote that lime for land culture came at great expense from Kendal or up Windermere, and he counselled the use of coppice for burning local limestone instead of for making charcoal. Stockdale, also, in his "*Annals of Cartmel*" (p. 525), mentions that the barges which took the Langdale slate down the lake carried loads of limestone on their upward passage.

That this traffic of lime up the lake is of old standing we know from an entry in the Parish Register:—

"1697. September 16: James Braithwait late of Crofthead did goe to the waterfoote for a boate load of lyme stones for

* A. C. Gibson in "*The Old Man*," p. 133, gives a vivacious account of local quarrying and the names of the varieties of slates.

William Braithwait of briers, and as hee was comenge backe Againe was drownd in Windermere water: and three men that was with him by Gods greate mercy gott all out of the water and sav'd there lives; the boate which they were in beinge loaden with lyme stones was lost & did sinke into the bottom of the sayd water: and hee was buried the day of the moneth first mentioned."

Just at this period all the Furness houses were being rebuilt, and much lime would be required for rough-casting the walls. It is much more probable that it was for this purpose rather than for agriculture that these Cartmel "lyme-stones" were being conveyed. Nevertheless they must have been locally burned, and Mr. Taylor, to whose commonplace book we elsewhere refer, alludes to this entry and then describes certain deep holes in the ground near Sawrey, well paved at the bottom, stoutly walled at the sides, and bearing evidence of fire.* These holes he evidently imagines may have been old limekilns, but as we have never personally been able to learn their whereabouts we can neither corroborate nor attempt to refute his suggestion. Nevertheless it seems equally probable that the holes he stumbled across were the remains of seventeenth century iron-smelting hearths.

At a later period, probably after the Bishop's suggestion and perhaps due to his example, limekilns were established along the line of our local band of limestone, and they can yet be found, some in good preservation, at Yewdale, Borwick Ground Fell, Sunnybrow, Pull Beck, Wray, and at the point on the east side of Windermere where the limestone band emerges. None of these are, however, now worked, but the Yewdale kiln can be remembered as in use about fifty, and that at Sunnybrow was worked about sixty years ago.

FISHERIES.

Although, as we have seen, a right of fishery, both on Coniston and Windermere, was granted to the Abbot in 1246, by the Baron of Kendal, we have no evidence of it having

* Since writing the above Mr. C. F. Archibald tells me that a mile below Rusland there is a deep hole called "Limekiln Hole," adjoining Limekiln Field, showing that Rusland Pool was formerly used as a canal.

ever been exercised at either place. The Windermere fishery has always been treated as parcel of the Richmond fee, and neither fishery appears in the 1537 certificate among the perquisites of the Abbey. Yet the minor fisheries were important, as they were all carefully enumerated in this document: "Blalam terne ijs Haverthwayte fyshing lxxvj^s viij^d, another Finsthwayt ffyshing xx^s, and the thyrde Estwater x^s, whiche (among others) were always reserved for thexpence of the said late monastery"; but not a word about the two great lakes. Again, three of the above small fisheries are enumerated in the decree for abolishing the bloomerics as being exempt from tenant right; but they were then, of course, under lease from the Crown. "The fishing of Esthwaite occupied by the executors of William Sandys; the fishing of Blallam Tarn occupied now or late by John Sawrey . . . the fishing of Dulas in Finsthwaite, now or late occupied by the same." At the present day these fisheries are not of much value, nor since the Reformation do they seem to have been accounted so. Blelham fishery is vested in the Lord of the Manor; but the Curwens and Wilsons of High Wray have at different times claimed each half of it. The following bailiff's memorandum on the subject is worth printing:—

"Mannr. of

"Hawkshead.—Whereas ye ffishery of Blaylholme Tarne is become forfeited to ye lady of this manor, for noe paymt. of ye rent of 2s. per ann and Clem^t Rigg gent of Hawkshead having undertaken (for ye consideration of an oak tree, to be delivered out of Braithwaite Garrs) to pay eight shillings ye arrears of ye said rent and to continue ye payment of ye accrewing rente I do therefore so farr as in me lyes order and authorise ye sd Clem^t Rigg to take possession of ye sd ffishery and do also hereby direct ye Bailiff of the sd mann^r to deliver such Oak tree for ye making of a Boat for ye sd ffishery and that Mr. Benjamin Brown be acquainted with ye delivery of ye sd Tree.

"W. KNIPE

"20 Nov 1716"*

* Beck MSS.

The fishery of Esthwaite fell like various other privileges, into the hands of the Sandys family, and it is not many years since the rights of fishing and boating on this lake became the subject of litigation between the present representative of the family and certain inhabitants of the parish. Col. Sandys succeeded in duly establishing his claims, and the lake is now admitted to be his private property. The Sandys and Rawlinson families also each hold one of the ten fisheries of Windermere; but these fisheries are none the less Westmorland properties, being situated in the Richmond Fee.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Time out of memory, Hawkshead has been associated with two sorts of Cakes—and there is no reason to doubt the recipes boast a very respectable antiquity, like everything else in Hawkshead. Miss Mary Noble's bakery, where they are still made, is a very old-established business indeed; and the cakes have always been so well-known, that many years ago her father, who resided in the house, although he took no part in the bakery, bore (like everyone in those days), a soubriquet, of "Bun Dick."

Hawkshead "wiggs" are a very nice tea-cake indeed, for those who eat such things. But why wigg? Well, we confess we do not know. But it is a very good and well recognized word. Hear what Pepys saith:—

"Ap. 8, 1664. Home to the only lenten supper I have had of wiggs and ale."

After Hawkshead wiggs comes Hawkshead cake, and then, at any rate for the author, abdominal chaos. We remember well the days when we ate Hawkshead cake, and to this day our mouth furtively waters if we think of it. It is, however, on record, that at local Band of Hope meetings the *pièce de résistance* has always been Hawkshead cake, and also that after tea the members sing:—

"Here we suffer grief and pain."

Cheese-making was a regular farm industry, and even yet occasionally a cheese or two is made in old-fashioned farms.

In a sale book of a sale at Borwick Ground, in 1818, we find no less than thirteen items of cheese, ranging from 10 lbs. to 12 lbs. each, which were sold at $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $6\frac{3}{4}$ d. a lb.

Hawkshead even boasted its hat manufacturers in former days :

Burials, 1668, "September 9: Issabell, the wife of William Braithwt hatter in the Church."

But long after this hats were locally made. There is a small building on a farm at Hawkshead Hill which was used for this purpose till a comparatively recent time.

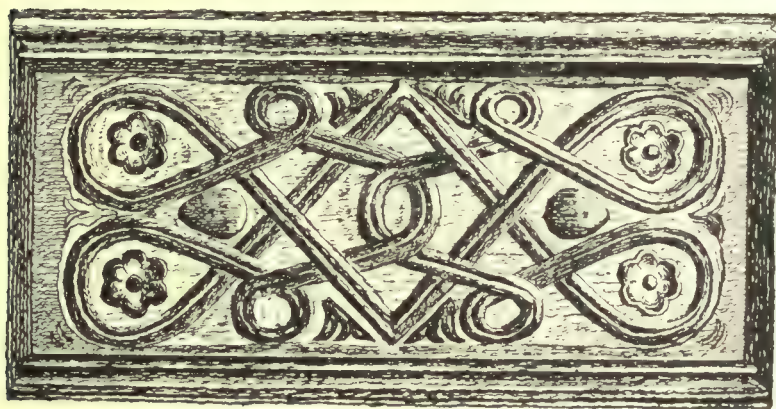
In the days when clock-making was regularly carried on in country centres, Hawkshead had three makers who turned out well-made grandfathers' clocks. These were John Braithwaite, Thomas and Samuel Burton. A few only of their instruments now remain in the parish, good twenty-four hour timepieces of the patterns usual from 1690—1730. None of these makers ever seem to have become members of the Clockmakers' Company, as Barber of Winster, did. But there are forty of Barber's clocks to one by a Hawkshead maker.

Thomas Burton was probably a son of Samuel, for in 1746 he was repairing the church clocks. The Burtons were "off-comes," for the name does not occur in the older register. Of Braithwaite nothing further is known; but curiously, as late as sixty years ago, a Braithwaite was living in the parish, who, because he understood clock and watchwork sufficiently to do repairs, was invariably known as "Watchie" Braithwaite. It seems probable that he was a descendant of the clock-maker, and that the intermediate generations had kept in their hands the business of clock repairing.

Wood Carving.—There is, unfortunately, practically no evidence to show whether the rude carvings on the oaken furniture, with which, during the seventeenth century, the dalesmen filled their houses, was their own work, or that of the local craftsmen who made the furniture. On the whole, however, though reluctantly, we cannot but confess that the latter hypothesis is the most tenable; because, when the chests or cupboards were once put together, the difficulty of working

on the wooden panels would be certainly much greater than when the oak boarding was loose.

Yet it remains the fact that this decoration of furniture was during this period a practised industry; and as the cost of furniture must have been greater or less, according to the amount of carving supplied, it follows, if we assume the carving to be the furniture maker's work, that every carved panel or chair back we see is a manifestation of a crude sense on the part of the dalesmen of decorative art; and further, it is evidence of rude luxury; of the fact, indeed, that there were few households, however humble, that were unable to expend a little on what was not mere necessity.



CARVED PANEL OF OAK CUPBOARD (1686).

The interest in the designs we find, are rather archæological than artistic. The carving is rough and ready as a rule, and any degree of neatness and finish is rarely seen. Yet the very sketchiness of the work, which proves the absence of the "design book" method, emphasizes the value of the work as the product of local feeling. Though the same patterns occur and recur, we should have great difficulty in finding two panels where important variation does not exist. It looks as if the workman, while generally producing certain traditional ornament patterns, executed them from his memory and imagination, and not from another panel which was lying

before him. And this fact lends a certain amount of colour to the theory that the carving was the home work of the dalesman; a theory which, for reasons we have stated, seems otherwise improbable.

The patterns may be roughly classified thus:—

- 1.—Endless interlacing knots of intricate design, and of infinite variety. One of these patterns generally fills up a panel. These designs are manifestly very ancient, and here in Lakeland may possibly be, as Mr. Collingwood has suggested, the Norse “worm twist.” On local furniture it ranges over the whole period, that is from about 1610 to 1760.
- 2.—Foliated scroll work, generally found on upright divisions between panels, and on horizontal rails. Like the last there is great variety; but the pattern is persistent, and undoubtedly of an ancient origin.
- 3.—A pattern originally representing a Roman or Norman archway and columns. This is generally applied to the front panels of a chest, which consequently together represent a façade. This pattern probably crept in from the South, and is a trace of Mediæval Gothic work. It is not common in the Lakes; and where found is often very debased, the columns having become rude gashes, or even figures like fronds of ferns.
- 4.—Crude floral designs, which are associated with later dates, generally after 1720. These are evidently of no great antiquity.

There are also a few other patterns of a semi-geometrical character, which are apparently early, though, perhaps, not so much so, as classes 1 and 2. Human figures and inlay are hardly ever found.

If, as is believed to be the case, the furniture prior to the end of the sixteenth century was of a totally rude and uncarved character, the question arises how these ancient traditional designs were handed down. It is impossible to believe that design and its execution lay dormant for five or

six hundred years, and then started again at the exact point where it died out. If there is any truth that the interlaced knot pattern is the Norse twist, introduced by the Viking settlers in the ninth century, how was it kept in the minds of the dalesmen during these long dark centuries, when the hereditary arts of his race lay crushed beneath the blighting load of feudalism and monasticism. We recommend this enquiry to the members of the Viking Club and to students of the evolution of design.

CHAPTER VI.

SURVIVALS AND FOLKLORE.

THERE are probably but few branches of antiquarian research which are of more human interest, or, indeed, of greater value, than that of folklore ; yet, unfortunately, that very intellectual stimulus which has turned the minds of savants towards this vein of material, is the same which has swept away so much, and will sweep off far more, of the precious matter itself. Folklore students, in fact, come a generation too late upon the scene, and as they dig and delve into the quarry face, they root out, not the fair smooth fossils they hope for, but the weathered holes and crannies where these treasures have lain ; and it is from these poor worn fragments they must gather, by microscope and analysis, the best they can, to reconstruct the organism.

Seventy years ago, or a good deal less, a man alive to the importance of the study might have constructed a volume on traditionary custom and superstition in Hawkshead, which would have been invaluable ; but no such man was forthcoming. Seventeen years back there were still living all over the parish, hale men of seventy years, who, had there then been a student, might and would if properly interviewed, have told enough of the same subject to have made up a useful text-book of north-country folklore. But those seventeen years are past ; and with them have disappeared almost completely the generation of elders who formed a link with the past. Year by year the writer has seen these patriarchs of the dales pass away ; and mingled with the

sorrow that all must feel at the death of those whose years and character alike have commanded respect, is the regret that we naturally experience as each link which connected the "old order" with the new is torn asunder.

The question is now, Can we still do anything, and is it worth doing? The dalesmen never were, like Celtic races, highly superstitious, and the churchyards, waterfalls, and wells, were never peopled with pixies, fairies, wraiths, or other "peculiar people," as we find in some districts. Unfortunately, also, the branch of folklore of especial local interest, traditional customs and habits, is the very one which the nineteenth century has affected. The present generation of dalesmen, without a railway and far from a populous centre, has in some ways cast off more completely these customs and habits, than is frequently found to be the case in densely populated towns. This sounds curious, but the reason is obvious. The dalesman is naturally highly intelligent, and with the opening up of the Lake district, the introduction of newspapers, and the advance of education, he has absorbed new ideas and ways far more quickly than the crowded poor who live face to face with squalor and poverty in a large manufacturing town. It may be—nay, frequently is—the case that an operative working in one of the most advanced industries of the present century, is far more of the savage than the simplest clod-breaker or shepherd in the country. Turn a party of operatives and a party of fell-shepherds on to two separate desert islands, and see which most quickly establishes a civilized, organized, and orderly community.

There is another difficulty with which the student of folklore has in Lakeland to contend, namely, that self-same excessive caution and "standoffishness" which is so marked in the local character. No student who is not himself a dalesman, or thoroughly conversant with the mental tone of the people, could ever penetrate this in some subjects; for a man who will never commit himself to praise or condemnation, will not be likely to "give himself away" by

deliberately telling a ghost story, or by describing an apparently meaningless custom. All that can be done is to mix and talk with the people on everyday subjects of the past and the present, and the very pearls you may require must be gleaned in conversational "by the ways" and parentheses. There has indeed been a good deal written about Lakeland customs and habits generally, and much of the matter recorded applies equally to our parish, but there is no need to go over this ground in a parish record such as this. In the following pages we shall restrict ourselves almost entirely to the local survivals and superstitions which have come to our own notice, trivial sometimes in themselves, but being purely local and many unpublished, certainly merit record in this volume.

HEARTH-CULT SURVIVALS.

Probably everyone has heard of hearth-cult and ancestor worship, a simple and primitive form of household religion of which traces can be found to-day in nearly every country and every faith. In this, the homestead is the temple and the cult itself centred round the hearth-place, beneath which, folklore students say, the family ancestor in primitive conditions of life was either really or by tradition buried. Thus writes Mr. G. L. Gomme on the subject:*

"An analysis of the customs which attended the primitive hearth-cult shows us that the sacred fire on the hearth was never allowed to go out; that the ritual attendant upon marriage, birth, and death, centred round the sacred fire; that offerings to the ancestral god at the hearth were made from the food of the household; and that the hearth represented to its early worshippers the source of all their happiness and prosperity."

Of this hearth-cult we have recent survivals in Hawkshead parish. Mr. A. Craig Gibson has left to us the following interesting account of everlasting hearth-fire, as kept burning

* "The Village Community," London, 1890, p. 129.

at the lonely farmsteads of Parkamoor and Lawson Park.* Writing in 1864 he says:

"Previous to the invention of lucifer matches, and probably for long after, the fire on the stone hearths of these two "Granges" had not been extinguished, it was said, for many centuries, probably not even yet. Their fuel being peat, was easily kept smouldering throughout the longest night, while their distance from neighbours, and the consequent difficulty of providing means of re-lighting their fires, if extinguished, made their many generations of inmates careful to preserve them alight."

No doubt many who read this will argue that deductions from such an instance are useless—that the very facts that lucifer matches were unknown, that peat smouldered slowly, and that re-lighting was difficult, sufficiently accounts for such a state of things. But the point is, the custom was so widely spread that, though we cannot find in it any evidence of particular racial descent, there remains no room for doubt as to its observance as a primitive traditional custom. Mr. G. L. Gomme, in his "*Folklore Relics of Early Village Life*,"† cites exactly the same thing in New Zealand, North America, England, and the Isle of Man; and Mr. Ellwood himself knew examples in which the hearth-fire was religiously maintained for three generations.‡ Probably a hundred years ago, when 'statesman families were still numerous, there existed numbers of such "ancient lights," but with the extinction of the class came that of the hearth-fire, and it may be doubted if such a fire now remains.

In the same primitive stage of culture the foundation of the homestead was celebrated in more than one way, and of these the most important were sacrifice and feast. The latter still lingers in the "rearing suppers," invariably given to the workmen by the master or employer on the day when the roof timbers are reared or raised into their place.

* See Vol. VI. of "*Transactions Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society*," p. 178, etc., "*Hawkshead Town*," by A. C. Gibson.

† Pp. 96-7.

‡ "*The Landnama Book of Iceland*," etc., 1894, p. 8.

The "house warmings" of other parts have the same origin, and a mightily interesting origin it is.

The foundation sacrifice was equally universal, and was no doubt a propitiatory offering to the spirits of evil to avert ill luck. Gomme, in his "*Folklore Relics*," cites such sacrifices from all over the world—from Borneo, Hawaii, Normandy, Turkey, New Zealand, Africa, Japan, and elsewhere, and many of them, though not all, were human sacrifices. The interesting points are that the sacrifice was generally made, if for a village, at the principal gate, and if for a house at the threshold, and there the victim was buried; and that the object was to avert malignant supernatural power.

Now at one time in Hawkshead parish, if a cow gave birth to more than one dead calf, the body was taken and buried at the threshold of the cowbyre, which act changed the luck. In other words, the herd was bewitched, and the dalesman, without knowing of it, simply performed part of the foundation sacrificial rite which had been evolved by his ancestors in the primitive past, in hallowing the homestead.* The sacrifice was made at the byre threshold to avert witchcraft in precisely the same way as originally it was done at the village gate or the house threshold. The intermediate link between the threshold sacrifice and the disease charm is still to be found among the Mambwe

* In the adjacent parish of Troutbeck, it is said that in two cases in the memory of man calves were sacrificed; in one case a bull calf being roasted alive, because the cows were all calving males, instead of females; in the other, a calf was burned to death in a field because of miscarriage among the herd. At Bassenthwaite, in 1876, a calf was buried alive for the same reason.—"*Troutbeck, Its Scenery, Architecture, etc.*," 1876, pp. 61-64.

The calf immolation was indeed widespread and deeply rooted as a Lakeland practice. Mr. Dickinson describes it in his "*Cumbriana*," 1826, p. 135. He says that the first abortive calf which shows signs of life was thus buried, alive or dead, to break the spell: and that sometimes the abortive calf, if living, was burned to death at midnight. He seems to think that, as the sacrifice had to be made by one person only, and was supposed to loosen the disease devil, it would not be undertaken until a prolonged course of the malady rendered it, in the opinion of the owners of the herd, necessary. Consequently it often did not take place until the disease or malady had worn itself out naturally as it usually does in three years. And the cessation, really the result of nature, was looked upon as the result of the sacrifice.

Atkinson ("*Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*," p. 62) mentions exactly the same custom in Cleveland; and Henderson ("*Folklore in the Northern Counties*," p. 149) gives instances of calf sacrifice at Portreath, and lamb-burning alive in Cornwall, in 1800, for similar reasons.

in Central Africa, among whom Sir Harry Johnston tells us a child prematurely born is cut into five pieces and burned beneath the floor of his mother's tent.* The analogy between this and the local custom is complete and most striking.

In Furness Fells we are not in Fairyland, but at one time the dalesmen were not without their familiar spirits, or hearth gods, the *haus geist* of the Teutons. The hob-thrush, or throb-thrush, was the same as the "brownie," and was as a rule a good little devil, often helping the farmer at his work, but equally often performing some mad prank effectually counterbalancing the good he had done.† Little though we hear of him in modern days, the following fragment of a Furness song shows that he was a true hearth goblin:

"Then off the rannel balk I took him,
And right bitterly I shook him
At every stroke
These words I spoke
'Thou shalt come here no more to spoil my smoke.'"

Both hob-thrushes and fairies are now extinct, and little can be gleaned on the subject. One old fellow told the writer indeed that in his young days strange were the reputed doings of the little folk in Ambleside fair and market. Dressed as common folk, they would mingle with the marketing folk, and then by blowing at the women at the market stalls they became invisible, and were enabled to steal things from the stalls. Curiously, the same old man remembered Frankhousesteads as a place reputed to be haunted by fairies; and Frankhousesteads, as we have already seen, was probably only one of the hiding-places of the Castlehow thieving gang, which was broken up about

* "British Central Africa," p. 417.

† The names throughout of all these elves are curious and intimately connected. Thus the Normandy *kobold* seems the same as our goblin, which, transposed, becomes bogle or boggle and boggart. But generally he was some form of "Robert," and the question arises, is this the same in origin as the forms given? Thus we have Robin Goodfellow, Hobthrush, Hobgoblin, and Dobbie, formed from Robert seemingly in the same ways as Robinson, Hobson, and Dobson. [Whence also Robin Hood and Hop o' My Thumb, etc.] Yet from the Hebrides it comes back to us as Boduchs or Boddus. But what signifies the terminal boo, in bogey boo?

"And every time I saw him smile, I thought on the bogey boo."—*Old Furness Song*.
But see Sullivan's "Cumberland and Westmorland, Ancient and Modern," p. 158.

1785. Here we get an instance of the way a place connected with any mystery or crime became quickly in the eyes of the people a subject of superstition.

One day the writer was chatting with old George Milligan, now, alas, gone to his fathers; a typical dalesman, who having spent his early days in Langdale, and being not only extremely intelligent, but possessed of a splendid memory, was a veritable mine of lore to the enquirer. Moreover, George had less than usual of that awful reserve which we cannot help regarding as often a fault in the dalesman; and he quite well saw the use of such enquiries. Superstitious, however, he was not, and laughed at the idea of the uncanny. But the days when such beliefs were general he well remembered, and as he put it, when he was a lad, "dobbies and sic like were aw up and down, and t' childer hardly dare put their noses ayont t' threshold at neet." In Little Langdale the Busk and the Forge, the latter place only separated from our parish by the Brathay, were regularly visited by fairies—harmless little beings it would seem, of the house-goblin class, for their principal occupation seems to have been churning butter after the family had retired for the night. They were, however, rather thriftless little folk, for near the Forge it was common to find bits of butter scattered in the woods, dropped, it would seem, by the uncanny churners in their morning flight.

Now butter-making fairies were no more confined to Langdale or High Furness than was calf sacrifice; for as that observant student, Mr. Atkinson, tells us, they did exactly the same thing right away on the East Coast in Danby in Cleveland.

The fact is that the cowbyre and the dairy were both the proper and natural resort of the house-goblin; and witchcraft, which is closely associated with the evil eye, the belief in which seems absolutely universal, was more prone to take effect in these departments of the farm than elsewhere. This is singular in a sheep country, yet we never remember to

have heard any instance of a stock of sheep being bewitched, or of any charms being necessary for disease among the fell flocks.

Later on I shall come to witchcraft proper; but witching permeates everything in folklore, and few maladies were there which were not attributed to such influence. It seems indeed almost certain that when Christianity once became rooted, those misfortunes which in Pagan times were laid at the door of the malignant spirits, were reluctantly removed and placed instead upon the shoulders of unfortunate old ladies and gentlemen, who, under the title of witch, became the devil's scapegoats. Once sitting in a cottage with probably the oldest inhabitant of Satterthwaite, we had listened to a long story of the past, and as it came to an end, our informant's wife chimed in, "Now I'll tell ye what. Ye were axing tudder day about witching. Well, my auld man yance saw a cawf with eight legs and twa heeads." To us, as we say in the vernacular, this was "plain as a pikestaff." The freak of nature was unhesitatingly put down to the cow having been bewitched.

So with the butter: when anything went wrong in churning it was witchcraft which was the cause; and, we take it, the house-goblin was called in as the representative of the spirit of goodwill to join battle with the farmer against the witch as typifying the spirit of malignity. Probably all stories of hob-thrushes churning, were, in their original forms, the description of the triumphant victory of the house-goblin over witchcraft. The butter wouldn't come for the housewife, when lo! in stepped the hob-thrush and did it for her. But the farmer's wife had another antidote for witch'd milk besides her auxiliary. She got twigs of mountain-ash or rowan, and either stirred the milk with it or placed it in the milk. We have heard of witch'd milk at Nibthwaite Grange, where this method was resorted to, and the same old lady who unhesitatingly accepted the deformed calf as the result of witchcraft, remembers, as a farm girl, her mistress surrounding the churn with a sort of chaplet of

the magic wood, and though they knew the witch (one Betty Postlethwaite), something was wrong, for still the butter wouldn't come; so that, concluded our informant, rather lamely, she "doubted seeap (soap) or summat had gotten intil t' cream." All this rowan-tree superstition, common in the north of England, smacks of Scandinavianism, the rowan being the sacred tree of Thor, by which indeed he was saved from drowning.

But the last embers of the popular belief in witchcraft as applied to farm stock were perhaps extinguished at the last flare of the need-fire in Hawkshead. Into the archæology and distribution of this most remarkable custom, it would require far too much space to enter here, and indeed the subject has received wide notice in many books. Suffice it to say that it is widely spread in Europe and Asia, and probably also in America, and that whatever the true derivation of the term, its origin as a purificatory rite by sacred fire can admit of no question. We can indeed in it trace no special racial descent, but no less have we in the local examples we shall quote, a survival of a most ancient religious cult, the application of the sacred element of pure fire as an antidote for malign influence.

We have ascertained that the need-fire has been lighted at least at five separate places within the limits of our parish within the memory of man, but it does not appear that they were all upon the same occasion. We give them here, with the names of our informants, but it will be seen that it is by no means a simple matter to arrive at the exact years when the rites were observed.

Finsthwaite Heights.—Mr. Robert Scales, of Satterthwaite, aged 84 (1897), can well remember a need-fire being lighted near Chapman House, at Finsthwaite, where he was then working, and that the cattle from surrounding farms were collected and driven through the smoke to cure them of some disease. He cannot remember whether the fire was made or brought to Finsthwaite, but he can remember well that it was currently reported that the fire, to be efficacious, must be

either brought from another fire or made by friction with dry rotten ash. The fuel used was purposely damp, so that there should be plenty of smoke, and he believes that the "murrain" died out after the smoking. Of the date he cannot be certain, but it is certainly over sixty years ago, that is, 1837 or a little earlier.

Keenground.—This is remembered by Mr. Isaac Hodgson, postman of Hawkshead. The site was below Low Keenground Farm. The fire was brought in a pan from elsewhere, but Mr. Hodgson knew it had been made by friction. The cattle were driven through the smoke until they "slavered" at the mouth, when the cure was considered to be effected. The date was over sixty-three years ago, which would be 1836 or before.

Sawrey.—In Mr. Taylor's commonplace book is a full description of a need-fire lighted at this place. Mr. Taylor's book is dated 1850, but as he writes up to 1874, and the entries are undated, it is not possible to give the exact year. The entry in question, however, appears to have been made fairly soon after he began to keep the book, and it probably refers to the same date as the need-fire lighting at Hollin Bank and Fieldhead, which, as we shall see, were about 1845-7. It is not improbable that the entry in question was written for some local paper, perhaps by Mr. Taylor himself:—

"A scene of the most ludicrous and gross superstition took place at Sawrey about ten years ago. A well-to-do old farmer having lost several of his cattle by some disease then very prevalent in the neighbourhood, and being able to account for it in no way so rationally as by witchcraft, he had recourse to the following remedy, recommended to him by a weird sister in the district as an effectual protection from the attacks of the foul fiend. A few stones were piled together in the farmyard, and wood and straw having been laid thereon the fuel was ignited by fire obtained by friction, all the neighbours for miles around attending with their cattle to go through the solemnity. The cattle were made to pass through the fire and smoke in the order of their dignity and age,

commencing with the horses and ending with the swine. The ceremony having been duly gone through, the enlightened owners of the herds and flocks, along with their families, followed the example of the cattle, and the 'sacrifice to Baal' was considered complete; and the assembled throng repaired to their several homes in the full gratification of having performed a great deed."

Hollin Bank, Monk Coniston.—Mr. Wilson, owner of Hollin Bank Farm, remembers the need-fire being lighted by friction about 1847.

Fieldhead.—Mr. John Usher, of Dodgson Ground, has often heard of the need-fire being lighted here about fifty-two years ago (*i.e.*, 1847), but the only man to whom he can refer as an eye-witness (Joseph Milligan) is dead. People came from all the farms around.

Besides these local instances there is plenty of evidence of the same custom in the neighbouring districts. It is remembered at Wythburn; and it was kindled at Hartsop Hall, on the road to Patterdale. It was last lighted in Troutbeck about 1851,* and Mr. Dickinson, in his "Cumbriana," mentions it as observed in Cumberland in 1840 (the fire coming from Yorkshire), but he does not state exact locality.† Mr. W. Wilson, in a paper in the pages of a local society, says it was last used in the Keswick District in 1841,‡ when the fire was brought over Dunmail Raise from farm to farm.

It thus appears that on two occasions within the memory of man this ancient practice was resorted to. The first was about 1835, and the second about 1845 or 1847. This seems to be the latest instance in our parish, though more recently it was apparently observed at Troutbeck and elsewhere,§ and apparently it was used for any epidemic, although Dickinson describes it for the foot and mouth disease.

* "Troutbeck. Its Scenery, etc.," p. 46.

† P. 133.

‡ "Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Society for Literature and Science," No. XII., p. 85 *et seq.* In the same paper, however, he says, "upwards of thirty years since," and the date of the volume being 1887, this would bring it some fourteen years later. But there is possibly here a misprint, or perhaps the latter date is not local.

§ At Stamfordham, Northumberland, apparently about 1860. See Henderson's "Folklore in the Northern Counties," p. 169.

That the need-fire is really the *neat* fire, or oxen fire, we feel but little doubt, although there appears to be a Teutonic root word which signifies friction. This, however, needs no discussion here. All we need observe is that fifty years ago the people of Hawkshead believed that a miraculous cure could be effected by driving the infected animals through a fire ignited either by friction or brought from elsewhere, and which was carefully made to give a great smoke. It is quite immaterial to give an accumulation of world-wide analogies or to cite historical mentions, such as the prohibition of "nedfri" or "notfyre," in 742, by the Synodus Francisca,* for such would only serve to obscure the points we wish to insist upon, namely, the deeply-rooted belief in the popular mind in the existence of malign influence, and the survival to the nineteenth century in our dales of what we cannot doubt is a trace of the belief in the sacred and purifying character of fire; which is nature worship and nothing else.

The "weird sister," mentioned in Taylor's account of the Sawrey need-fire, shows us that up to that time the belief in wisemen and wisewomen, who often had the power of counter-acting evil spells, had not died out. She was another incarnation of benign influence as banded against the malign, or witchcraft, influence. Though we never hear of village "wisemen" now-a-days, there is little doubt that in former days there was one such in every village. Perhaps their wisdom was more often consulted for ailments among cattle than for anything else, and Robert Scales, of Satterthwaite, remembered that seventy years ago such a wiseman still lived at his village, and was consulted for this purpose. But he had other functions than this, and one was the recovery of stolen property. Mr. Taylor gives us a curious example, in his commonplace book, from Cartmel Fell, which, having never been published, and being only just beyond the limits of our parish, we reproduce. It seems that a burglary had taken place at a cottage near St. Anthony's Chapel,

* See Sullivan's "Cumberland and Westmorland," p. 116; and "The Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist," Vol. II. p. 77: in the latter of which, methods of raising need-fire are discussed.

and the cottager went to consult the local wiseman, whom he found prosaically enough in the Bowling Green alehouse. He paid his fee in a pot or two of beer, and in return received instructions to stand on a tombstone in the "Kirkgarth," and as the congregation left the chapel, to cry with a loud voice, that if his stolen property should not be returned by the following Sunday, the thief would find himself, *willy nilly*, perched on the roof-tree of the chapel during the Morning service: for thus had ordained the wiseman. This was done, and the property was returned in due time, doubtless, because the thief was equally superstitious with the thiefed.

Mr. Taylor has a further note on wisemen, which may be from his own observations. He said that in every village there was a person with a special gift to stay a flow of blood. It was hereditary, but "could only be communicated from opposite sexes," which we take to mean that a girl only could stop a man's wound, and *vice versa*. The blood-stopper simply retired into a corner and muttered; and burns and scalds were treated the same way.

For bleeding, burns, and scalds, there were, however, really recognized formulæ used as charms, and these, with variants, may be found widely distributed over England. A few years ago, Mr. S. Marshall lent the present writer some papers, which he had found among the title deeds of the Skelwith Fold estate; and among them were two formulæ, which had turned up among papers connected with the neighbouring property of Bull Close, of the date of 1736—1751.

The first, for bleeding, runs as follows:—

"To stop Bleeding in Man or Beast at any Distance, first you must have some Drops of y^e Blood upon a Linen Ragg and wrap a Little Roman Vitrioll upon this Ragg put it under your oxter (armpit) and say these words thrice into yrself 'There was a Man Born in Bethlem of Judea Whose name was Called Christ. Baptized in the River Jordan In the Watter of the flood and the Child also was

meak and good and as the watter stood So I desire thee the Blood of Such a person or Beast to stand in their Bodie, in the name of the father son and Holy Ghost Amen.' Then Look into the Ragg and at that moment the Blood stopeth the Blew powder is Turned into Blood by sympathy."

Similar to this, is one given in Dickinson's "Cumbriana," (p. 123).

THE CHARM TO STOP BLEEDING.

"In Bethlehem a child was born,
In Jordan was a flood;
Sweet Jesus, stop this blood,
In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen."
While from Dartmoor we get this version:—

TO STOP BLEEDING.

"Our Saviour Christ was born in Bethlehem
And was baptized in the river Jordan
The waters were mild of mood
The child was meek gentle and good
He struck it with a rod and still it stood
And so shall thy blood stand"
Say these words twice, and the Lord's Prayer once.*
The other Skelwith charm runs as follows:—

"To cure Burns or Scalds by Blowing thrice and Saying these words after each Blowing Coutha Cold under the Clay trembleing is there any here that would Learn of the Dead to Cure the sores of Burning in the Name of God And in the name of God be it Amen First say then Blow then say then Blow and it is done"†

These charms could no doubt be used either by wisemen or ordinary folks, and the formulæ were laid up in the

* Henderson's "Folklore in the Northern Counties," p. 269.

† What is the meaning of "Coutha," here apparently invoked as a familiar spirit? Halliwell gives "Couthe," a cold.

'statesman's deed box, as valuable possessions. We seem, however, to get another glimpse of special powers in one Agnes Warriner, who once lived at Outgate. It was said that she had the special power of curing jaundice by a spell. Possibly she had some power of diagnosis, for although no medicine was prescribed, the patient had to take urine for examination. A man died but a year or two ago, who professed to have been thus cured.

The old idea that the seventh son has a miraculous power of healing is well known, and it has been conjectured that it derives its origin from the story of the seven sons of Sceva the Jew (Acts xix. 13). We know, however, one local example only. Mr. Tyson, who keeps the bank at Hawkshead, was one of the old stock of Tysons, of Little Langdale. He was one of a large family, and one of his brothers being the seventh son, was sought out by a woman working in Coniston Copper Mines in order to be cured of some ailment on the arm, perhaps scrofula. Mr. Tyson's brother had no faith in such healing, but the woman persisted, coming once every week for seven weeks, early in the morning, to Dale End Farm, when the operator had to tie some charm or spell round her neck. Yet in spite of the scepticism of the operator, the charm had due effect. The local value, however, of this example is not so great, because there is some reason to think that the patient, like many of the mines' people, was of Cornish extraction, and had brought the superstition with her.

Most of the minor ailments were indeed supposed to be curable by non-medical means, and all such methods were, in origin, superstitious; so that it is plain that disease generally was, in the older days of country society, attributed to malign influence. Thus, although we look upon the Society of Friends as perhaps the least likely body to find associated with superstition, it is on record that William Knipe, of Knipe Fold, who, in 1699, left some property to the Quaker Meeting House, bequeathed also "a gold ring, which is kept in Mary Satterthwaite's hands, yt any

poor friends may have it to wash sore eyes with."* And in the Hawkshead Parish accounts for 1786 we find the following entry, which may refer to a wiseman's charm, as in that year there was a local doctor, and it does not seem likely that a patient would be taken to a retired valley like Long Sleddale, unless Mr. Kellet, who could hardly be another doctor, was a wiseman of repute.

"Journey horse hire and expenses to Eliner Preston to take her child to Mr. Kellet's of Long Sleddale to be cured of a scabbed head 2s. 6d."

But the strangest local charm of all was that for toothache. We have described elsewhere the gibbeting of Thomas Lancaster for wholesale murder in 1672, and have mentioned that not a few old people can yet remember the rotting stump of the gibbet still standing. George Milligan, to whom we have already referred, was among these, and he assures us that even in his time people suffering from toothache used to repair there, to obtain a stopping from the wood of the gallows tree. This placed in the tooth was considered, he said "a terrble suer thing for toothwark."

This cure again, was not confined to Hawkshead. Henderson gives two instances of the same thing.† In one case the inhabitants of Stamfordham, in Northumberland, used to walk no less than twelve miles to Winter's gibbet, on Elsdon Moor, for the very same purpose. The other case is even more striking, for we are told that the inhabitants of Durham and the neighbourhood went for the same purpose to a gibbet near Ferry Hill, called Andrew Miles' Stob, where, in 1683, a boy was executed for murdering the three little children of his master. The character and date of this murder render the two cases of Hawkshead and Ferry Hill extremely similar.

Bibliomancy, or divination by Bible and key, is, of course, akin to spells and charms, but from its very nature it was enlisted in the benign influence cause, instead of that of

* Mr. Taylor's *Commonplace Book*. Knipe's Bible is still preserved at the Meeting House.

† "Folklore in the Northern Counties," 1879, p. 145.

witchcraft. Nevertheless, it was superstition pure and simple, and its origin is lost in remote antiquity. How late it may have been practised in Hawkshead we do not know, but we have only heard of two instances. Unfortunately, old people who remember them, forget the details, and we have to content ourselves with ascertaining the existence of such superstitions within the memory of man, which, after all, is the main point. Thomas Martin, of Fieldhead, or "Tommy," as he was generally called, died in 1895, at an advanced age. His father was John Martin, who appears elsewhere in this chapter. A year or two before the death of the son he told us that he could distinctly remember his father using the Bible and key, and that to the best of his recollection he used them to find out if anyone, or probably if a certain individual, were acting maliciously towards him. The manipulation of the Bible and the key was not distinctly remembered, but they appear to have been balanced against each other on end, and some words or a spell muttered. John Martin gave up the practice with advancing years, but it was evidently divination, and nothing else. The other instance was told me by Miss Udall, of Monk Coniston, now about seventy-six years of age, who remembers, as a girl, to have seen it practised by a servant at Hollow Oak, in Colton, to ascertain if some person, who had thrown a stone through a window, was a certain groom, who was suspected. The time of this occurrence was about 1836.*

* The reader will find no difficulty in getting better examples of bibliomancy elsewhere. There are several examples quoted in Henderson's work. On page 236 he quotes the "Universal Fortune Teller," where the operation necessary to discover the name of your future partner in life is described. The key is to be placed with the wards on Canticles, chapter viii. verses 6 and 7, the ring of the key projecting from the top of the book about one inch. Close the book, and tie it tight with your garter. Then the diviner and another must suspend the Bible by placing their middle right hand fingers under each side of the key ring. One operator repeats the named verses and the other the alphabet, and when the initial of the future bride or bridegroom is arrived at, the book will turn.

Another method, rather different from Sprouston, is given on p. 233, the object here being to recover stolen property; and the spells consisted of two chapters of the Bible, one being the history of Saul and the witch of Endor (1 Sam. xxviii.). Reginald Scott mentions this form of divination in his "Discovery of Witchcraft," 1599: and Mr. Henderson actually cites an instance which came into a London police court in 1832. The more usual method was to place the wards of the key on the

No doubt enough has been said to show that a time existed, and that not very distant, when witchcraft permeated pretty thoroughly the existence of the dalesman, and when ills of all sorts and kinds were put down to this cause. But so far we have not come face to face with any individual witch, probably because the dalesfolk, being not racially superstitious, abandoned the idea of individual witches before they got rid completely of a belief in the effects of it. Another thing is that the excessive caution of character, we have so often alluded to, prevented, to a great extent, the noisy, brainless chatter and scandal which is so common among less intelligent and less serious races. We can therefore hardly expect that by simple enquiry among the country people, we should discover many actual instances.

We can, however, give one example of real witchcraft. as told to us a year or so ago by an old man, now about eighty years of age, who distinctly remembered his mother talking about the subject. There lived formerly at Outgate, and indeed until comparatively recently, a family whose name it is unnecessary to give here. The proceedings of this family generally seem to have been eccentric—"queer," as our informant put it, with an intonation that evidently suggested "uncanny." At any rate, one of the women of the family was a notorious witch, and possessed the faculty, well recognized in witches, of transforming herself into animal form, generally that of a hare. The hounds, apparently those kept by Braithwaite Hodgson of Greenend, while working the valley often found this hare, and it was well known for the capital runs it afforded, generally terminated by its mysterious but complete disappearance, scent and all, close to Outgate, leaving the hounds at fault. No doubt the reader can supply the remainder of the story, which, however, must be given.

passage in the first chapter of Ruth, "Whither thou goest, I will go," and then proceed in much the same way as given above. This method is described in Harland and Wilkinson's "Lancashire Folklore," 1882, where, however, it appears that a girl repeats the names of various admirers, and the one to be accepted is decided by the turning of the Bible and key. In another case cited by Mr. Henderson at Ludlow in 1878, the Bible was laid open and the key on the first chapter of Ruth. The diviners then touched the ends of their fingers in the form of a cross over it, and at the repetition of "Whither thou goest," etc., the key was expected to jump about.

One day the hare was run right into the hamlet, and making straight for the house of the "queer" family it jumped for an open window. Just at that moment, however, it was "clicked" by the leg by the foremost hound, a black one, and at the same moment there came from within the building this wild screaming chorus:—

"Switch Grandy Switch,
Here comes t' black bitch."

But it was too late, for as the hunters ran to the spot they found instead of the hare the notorious Outgate witch.

Now what we would like to know is, who made up this story, and where was it first told? Mr. Atkinson finds that exactly the same thing happened in his East Yorkshire parish. There the Westerdale sportsmen are put on to the hare by the witch herself, who, however, cautions them not to slip the black dog at it. However, a strange black hound joins the hunt, and the result is the same as at Outgate.* Yet again the same thing, only with a number of hares, is given in Henderson's work, where we also read a Devonshire version in which the hares or witch's grandson is heard crying at the critical moment:—

"Run Granny, run for your life," †

which is simply paraphrastic of the local distich given above.

The puzzle to the writer is not that witches become hares all over England, although, as the hare has been uncanny ever since the time of the goddess Freya, to whom they seem to have acted as lightbearers and attendants, that is curious enough; but that the stories should be so identical in form and apparently of so recent a date. Of course they are not really so, but being of great antiquity and deeply rooted in the popular mind, they are continually being freshly applied as occasion offers, and it is this tendency we shall find so marked when we have to treat of the ordinary haunts in the parish.

The only other witch whom we can in person introduce we must confess we feel rather sceptical about. The story was

* "Forty Years in a Moorland Parish," p. 83 *et seq.*

† "Folklore in the Northern Counties," p. 201.

first told in Mr. A. C. Gibson's "The Old Man" (1849, p. 74), but between the facts that that lively writer gives us no notes as to the source of his story, and that he loads it with a greater amount of detail than we can generally obtain from the dales-people, even about comparatively modern events, we cannot help feeling that the writer had either entirely invented it or had greatly polished up some crude tradition that he found among the villagers. As we have reprinted the story in full elsewhere* we need do no more than give an outline here.

Mr. Gibson puts his witch in residence in a hut on a spit of land at the mouth of Yewdale Beck, on Coniston. He gives her no name, but the sequel shows her period was pre-Reformation. In her old age, becoming nervous about the very uncomfortable hereafter she expected for her deeds, she goes to Father Brian, a monk living at Bank Ground, in Monk Coniston. The good man prescribes severe penance and abnegation of evil ways, instructing her, if assailed by the devil, to appeal to Father Brian and Saint Herbert. The latter proves necessary, for Satan himself turns up shortly to claim his own, when away goes Mr. Gibson's witch up stream, screaming the holy names as prescribed. At Bannock stone bridge, just below the present road, the devil, in hot pursuit, is just about to lay his claw upon her shoulder, when plump! his red-hot foot goes deep into a stone in mid beck, and there he sticks, while our witch cuts away triumphantly, much to the credit of Father Brian's acuteness.

Bannock stone bridge, now a wooden one, formerly consisted of two great flags, which were washed away by a spate. Under this bridge Mr. Gibson tells us to examine the stone, which, according to his account, bore the imprint of a large heel so unmistakably that he was induced to enquire for a legend to fit it. Gibson, in his own account, is plainly laughing in his sleeve, and it seems really very doubtful if the whole is not pure fiction. We ourself can find no imprint the least unusual, and although the villagers undoubtedly know

* "Hawkshead Folklore," by H. S. Cowper, in "Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society," Vol. XIV., p. 379.

something of the story now, we prefer to believe that they got it from our enquirer or his book, rather than that he got it from them, some fifty years ago.

Penitence and witchcraft bring us to penance, which was frequently performed in public in England down to last century. Penance was generally done by women, and most commonly for unchastity, though sometimes, as in historical instances, it was for sorcery, or for both these crimes. We have come across no documentary evidence of it in Hawkshead, but our informant, George Milligan, could distinctly remember his parents talking of a woman having to do penance in the church in a white sheet and with bare feet. He could recollect no further details, but had every reason to believe it happened in the time of his parents, so that not improbably it took place within the present century. The punishment of "riding the stang" is so well known that it needs no description. The last occasion it was observed in this parish, as far as we can ascertain, was about 1864, when a man called Shaw was stang-ridden from Colthouse to Hawkshead Hill and back, amid the jeers of the people. The penalty was inflicted for immorality.

MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS.

Firing muskets over the bridegroom's house.—This is a very interesting survival, and is not yet extinct, although much less general than formerly. It was certainly done about twelve years ago at Hawkshead, and we are told is still common in Colton. The firing party, after firing, ask for a present they call "hen-silver." It is noticeable that the custom is said to be practised in Norway, though as the Lakes were colonized in pre-gunpowder days, it is plain we have only a parallel development from some earlier custom.

It appears to us that there are two possible origins. Either it is simply a relic of the marriage by capture ceremony, the explosion being the last survival of a regular "lab el-barud,"* or mimic combat; or else it is on all fours

* Lab el-barud, the Arab "powder play,"

with the Californian practice of piling torches against the lodge of the wedded pair,* one of many fire and flame customs connected with marriage. If so, the transition from the torch or hearth embers to the matter of fact fowling-piece is interesting.

The origin of boons and boon-days is now almost lost in the mist of antiquity. Although boons were often regular manorial customs, we do not doubt that the custom took its rise long prior to that of the manorial system. Boon services, paid by customary tenants to their lords, were no doubt but one of the thousand burdens which were imposed by the lord of the soil on the back of the peasant; but boons proper, are, we think, traceable only in the gratuitous assistance given by the neighbours to an incoming farmer, generally in the shape of boon-ploughs. The word may be derived, as in our local glossaries, from a Norse word "bon," a prayer, and it may be connected with "bond," an undertaking. But whether this is so, or we have simply a corrupt form of "bona," is immaterial, because the custom being a communal one and found anciently in Wales under the name of *Cymhortha*, is evidently, like the need-fire, no evidence of racial descent among the local people.

As late as a generation ago there was held at Outgate a curious mock-court, which may possibly be a survival of a very ancient custom, although in the belief of those now living who have heard of it, it was only a sort of frolic. Whichever it was, however, it was sufficiently singular to merit a place here; for although not published, we are not without hopes that similar customs may prove to have been observed in other dales.

The four principal dignities of this august assembly were thus filled:—

John Martin	...	...	The Bishop.
William Warriner of Birkwray	...	...	Lord Short of Birkwray.
John Rigg	...	...	Justice.
Rowley Scales	...	...	Parson.

* Gomme's "Folklore Relics," p. 104.

Before this quorum were brought all sorts of minor offences, such as drunkenness; and as far as I can ascertain, they really imposed small penalties and fines; so that it is possible that in the days when petty sessions were held no nearer than Ulverston or Lakeside, it may really have acted as some slight check on the more lawless spirits. The court seems not to have sat on any special day of the year, which militates perhaps against its antiquity. But it seems to us just possible that the following entry in the parish, among burials, 1699, may refer to a similar custom —

ffbruary xvijth Jo. Rigg lord.*

On the whole it does not seem impossible that in this Outgate mock court we have a survival of a custom somewhat akin to those once prevalent in various parts of England, in which a mock mayor was elected and a procession held; and between which and certain customs practised by the Non-Aryan castes in Indian villages, Mr. G. L. Gomme has drawn parallels.† But unless we can find similar instances in the Lake district, we cannot hope to prove or disprove it.

We have seen in Chapter III. how a Viking's grave was walled in so that the restless dead should not return to the habitations of man. But the same idea, or rather, one closely akin, was deeply and widely rooted in the popular mind, namely, that the spirit must have free exit from the body at death, and that precautions should be taken that it does not return to the house. Hence is the savage custom of taking the dying out of the wigwam, and in more civilized communities, of unlatching the door at the time of death, and even removing the body through the window.

Some time ago the father of the present writer was making alterations at a farm at Hawkshead Hill, and in doing

* The writer of a criticism in the "Carlisle Patriot," on the author's "Oldest Register Book of Hawkshead," suggests this only means "laird," in some parts of Cumberland, simply the equivalent of 'statesman. But 'statesman, not "lord" or "laird," is the regular term in the fells, and the first never occurs in the register, and "lord" only once. Moreover, at this time all farmers in Hawkshead were landowners, and it is unlikely that the term would be applied in the register.

† "The Village Community," 1890, p. 107.

so, it was found that the door opposite the front door, which we have mentioned in the description of farm-house architecture, was, as is often the case, at the head of a short flight of steps, and had been walled up. One of the workmen, a man long connected with the district, said he had heard that these doors were originally made to take coffins out by. To us this seems very probable. The original idea of these doors on the first floor was partly superstitious—they were the corpse doors, by which the dead were removed, so that the spirit might not find his way in again by the threshold, which was always open. Moreover, the very fact that so many of these doors are now walled up, shows that they were not really necessary, and superstition becoming moribund, the dalesmen felt the cold draught and closed them. This may be guesswork, but we do not think it is. In Pembrokeshire it was once the custom to drag the corpse in a shift to the chimney top, and then lower it again.* This strange custom has been conjecturally explained as a “purification by fire” rite, but we venture to see in it simply a survival of a time when the dead were hoisted through a hole in the roof, for exactly the same reason which we have suggested the first-floor back doors in our farmhouses were originally made for.

Haunted Places.—Before enumerating the various places which among the country people are, or have been, regarded as haunted, it is necessary to say a word or two about the “Crier of Claife,” which has become the stock local haunt of all the popular Lake district books. The story does not seem to occur prior to Craig Gibson and Miss Martineau, between whose accounts there is not much divergence. We are told that about three hundred years ago, or about the time of the Reformation, a party of travellers were at the Ferry Inn, when a cry was heard from the Ferry Nab—that is the Westmorland side. The ferryman sets off across the lake in a storm, and shortly returns dumb with horror. Next day he is seized with fever, and dies without giving

* See “Pembrokeshire Antiquities”—Solva, Williams, 1897.

any explanation. For a long time fearful cries and noises are heard every stormy night over the lake; until finally a monk dwelling on one of the islands lays the ghost at a quarry, now known as "The Crier of Claife."

This story strikes us as in great part a modern invention, and in this detailed form should probably be looked at with as much scepticism as the Yewdale witch story. We should note that while the scene is fixed unmistakably at the Ferry, the "Crier of Claife" quarry is over a mile and a half away in Heald Wood. No doubt there was some old tradition about fearful cries over the lake, but if these cries were heard from the Ferry Inn, coming from the Nab, evidently the "Great boat" ferry, why should the haunt be laid nearly two miles away. Or if the cry happened at the Miller Ground crossing, which is not far from the "Crier" quarry, how could the people at the "Great boat" ferry be aware of it. There never was an inn at the Miller Ground crossing on either side; and there is no evidence that that at "Great boat" is of very great antiquity. On the whole, we cannot help suspecting that the compilers of this story have muddled wilfully or by accident two traditions, one probably arising from the great boat accident of 1635, and the other, some story of the supernatural, localized near the quarry, and most probably of quite distinct origin. The fact that the country people now know the story, is worthless as evidence, since it has been repeated by guide book after guide book for at least thirty years.

The simplest form of haunt is simply that in which a particular place bears a bad reputation without there being attached to it any distinct apparition. Gibbet Moss, often referred to, is of this character, and so long as the stumps of the grim gibbet were standing this was easily comprehensible. Mr. Taylor, in his commonplace book, says that people dreaded it even by daylight, but probably there are now many people who are unaware that a gibbet ever stood here. Bogley Crag, overhanging the road just before Satterthwaite is reached, is thoroughly haunted, although we have

never heard of any distinctly-recorded apparition. No doubt, however, there was such at one time.

We shall probably not be far wrong in judging that haunted places, as we find them in our parish, are simply the result of a strange jumbling of actual tragedies and mysteries and very ancient folklore, early forms, indeed, of northern superstition; in fact a murder or a suicide takes place, and the people promptly crowd the site, so to speak, with bogeys, whose exact counterpart existed a thousand years ago.

But there is another curious point. Your country ghost can be moved, if circumstances are favourable, from one site to another, or from one house to another, and of this we can give an example.

Belmount, built a little over a hundred years ago, has, to the best of our knowledge, never been the site of any crime, mystery, or tragedy. It has only been unfortunate, and not being on the edge of fashionable Windermere, has frequently lain untenanted for long spells of years. Yet it is distinctly haunted; or rather, until a few years ago, when it got re-tenanted, a very pretty community of ghosts were strolling about it, apparently examining it with a view of taking it on a long term. Sometimes at night travellers would see the windows brilliantly illuminated, when the house was empty, or the gates would fly open as a person passed. Caretakers or servants living in the house during the periods of its intermittent tenancy would hear indescribable sounds at night, and in the morning would find all the doors wide open; and even the "boots" at a neighbouring town hotel was, we are credibly informed, nearly frightened out of his wits when he lived as a boy, at Hawkshead, by an apparition here.

The tall, white-robed female which has been seen by rambles whose curiosity has prompted them to peer through the windows of the house, would seem, however, to have walked more regularly on the road between Belmount avenue and Hawkshead Hall, or in Scarhouse Lanc. But why should a modern house, with no grisly tale connected to it, be thus afflicted?

Some time ago the oldest inhabitant of Satterthwaite told us that when working at Hawkshead, as a lad, about 1825, he was riding in a cart from Hawkshead Hall towards Gallowbarrow, when he saw a tall female figure, dressed well but old-fashionedly, suddenly leave the highway and rapidly ascend into the air, finally disappearing from sight. The earnestness with which the absurd story was told convinced us of the absolute faith our old companion had in what he told us, and we were remarkably struck when he finished by—"There nea doobt but ther summat terrble queer about Haaksid Hall."

Here we have a clue. Seventy years ago Hawkshead Hall, the manor house, and a place of great antiquity, was universally and very suitably believed to be haunted. Belmont was a mere mushroom; but years went by, and it became unlucky, and lay often empty. The writer's grandfather bought the Hall, pulled down part of the old building, and built a spick and span new farmhouse; whereupon the ghost in dudgeon gave notice to quit, and finding Belmont most handy and convenient, a quarter of a mile away, it proceeded to locate itself there, with the success we have seen.

Esthwaite Water, or rather the road which runs along its margin, is badly haunted in several places. The most widely known and least explicable, however, is certainly the Waterside boggle, which has terrified many an honest man on the road between the residence called Eeswyke* and the cottage at Waterside, which at one time was the Claife Poor-house. The apparition here takes a variety of shapes. It has been seen as a man in light blue, as an animal neither calf nor donkey (a good acquisition, this, for Barnum's "Greatest Show on Earth"), or as a white fox or foxes. As a rule the spectre is suddenly sighted by a night pedestrian, and when approached as suddenly disappears.

It is worth noting that the Waterside boggle does not confine its unsolicited attentions to the uneducated. One of the vicars of the parish used to tell his friends how

* Till a few years ago the residence of the late Mrs. Ogden, and known as Lake Bank. See p. 44.

walking one night from Sawrey, he observed, as he approached the Poor-house, an old lady walking before him, with an old-fashioned bonnet on. It was early spring, and the road had been whitened by a slight snow shower. The vicar trudged along until he was abreast of the figure, and then, thinking she was probably a parishioner, bade her "good-night" as he passed. Getting no response, he half turned to see who the unsociable old body was, when, to his horror, he saw beneath the wide-brimmed bonnet, a death-like face, with goggle eyes, which gleamed like the red bull's eye at the back of a carriage lamp. The apparition then disappeared suddenly, apparently through a gap in the wall, up to which the vicar marched, but no trace of the figure could be seen. He then looked back along the road he had come. The moon was bright, and he noticed a strange thing. The snow bore the marks of but one pair of feet, and those were his own.

One form, however, which the apparition assumes, and that we believe the commonest, is rather significant. Night pedestrians, on arriving at this part of the road, would see a white calf, and this would suddenly disappear, followed at once by a sound resembling that of a cartload of stones being emptied into the lake, or sometimes into the road. This is uncommonly like the old Teutonic "Barguest," or "Barnghaist," who, in different variations, seems to be always a big beast and a big noise. Thus "Padfoot," a northern county form, was a big animal, sometimes a dog, and the sound of a chain,* or even worse "trash," a big dog which walks with a most awful splashing sound, and sometimes sinks into the earth at the feet of the terrified spectator, with a noise like that of a heavy stone being thrown into the road.†

Elsewhere we have narrated the story how an old woman in the parish, who lived many years ago at the Poor-house, asserted that she had, in person, seen and spoken with the Waterside ghost, which she made out to be no other than

* Henderson's "Folklore in the Northern Counties," p. 274.

† Harland and Wilkinson's "Lancashire Folklore."

the wraith of one Roger Dugdale, who was drowned one night in crossing the lake from near the How to Waterside. Dugdale, she said, was murdered, and she not only gave us plenty of particulars, but so manifestly believed them, that our first feeling was, that we had run the Waterside boggle to earth. A few enquiries, however, only were necessary to find out that Roger Dugdale was certainly not murdered, but simply accidentally drowned,* and that, indeed, the place had a mightily bad reputation before the occurrence. Indeed, there seems to have been a suicide considerably prior to Dugdale's death, and even before that the place was haunted. The old lady's narrative, ghastly and circumstantial as it was, was, however, valuable, for it showed us most clearly how uneducated people fix on a local tragedy to account for a superstition which may be of remote antiquity. One of the most practical of our farmers, a man eminently unsuperstitious, told us that it is really most remarkable how cattle often become partly panic-stricken near the Poorhouse, so that it is with difficulty they can be driven past. He, himself, had often had this experience; and that horses continually shy badly here is well known, and has often been experienced by the writer.

Continuing our peregrination of Esthwaite we pass, somewhere about the foot of the lake, a mysterious, but uninteresting headless lady, for no tradition or story seems to be attached to her. On the western margin we find, however, another instance seemingly, of the tendency to fix an old form of superstition on the site of a tragedy. An old woman is said to have been murdered somewhere about the How Farm, and, although suspicion fell upon more than one, it does not appear that anybody was brought to book. The story is that the woman owned a bag of spade guineas, which she used to take to the market and count, with the result that she was murdered, and the guineas were no more seen. Now here comes the interesting feature. Carts passing along the road

* Mr. Taylor's *Commonplace Book* gives an account, of the case which leaves no doubt that it was an accident.

at night are suddenly jumped upon by the spirit of old Nelly, and no amount of "whip behind" is effectual. This is apparently the same as the Scandinavian *skrat*, whose kinsman, or kinswoman, the German *schrat*, or *schritel*, was wont to jump into carts, which immediately became too heavy for the horse.

Down in Colton, at Elinghearth Brow, there is a very well-established haunt, also of the same character. It is well known as the "Elinghearth Brow dobbie." Whether the place was haunted before or not, we do not know, but its present bad reputation seems intimately connected with the suicide of a woman, near here, by drowning. One story is that it was in consequence of ill-treatment by her mistress, but this is uncertain, and also quite immaterial. The date has been given us as about sixty or seventy years ago, but this is again uncertain. Anyhow, a female form, clothed in white, often has appeared, and, according to the testimony of a Rusland man, one of whose ancestors was a carrier, its approach was generally heralded by a strange "waffling" sound in the coppice near the road. Sometimes it only accompanied foot passengers up the hill, but often it seated itself in the cart in exactly the same way as the old lady at the How, and it "waffled" away as mysteriously as it appeared. A very sad story is told about this selfsame dobbie in Mr. Taylor's commonplace book. He tells how a youth of the age of eighteen, one Christopher Cloudsdale, had to go from Finsthwaite bobbin mill to the smithy at Rusland. His work kept him there till late, and a lot of idle fellows standing about plied him assiduously with every tale of horror concerning the "dobbie" that they could remember or invent. The consequence was that when he left, instead of taking the Elinghearth Brow road, his direct route, he struck on to Greenhows, an unfrequented barren waste of ground dividing Rusland from Windermere. A bitter snowstorm came on, and the unfortunate lad lost his way. When found, he was lying dead on his face, and the traces in the snow proved that he had wandered miles, but had never gone one

hundred yards in the right direction. The snow had balled on his clogs, and in his panic-stricken struggles he had "brayed" them to pieces, and struggled on barefoot until he fell.

The only other haunt we know in the southern part of the parish is the apparition of a murdered child, which is believed to appear between the great oak below Graythwaite and the head of the hill called Baswicks, near Cunsey.

Monk Coniston and Skelwith also are not without their respective bogeys, and perhaps the best known is the Oxenfell Cross dobbie, which frequented a place near the road between Yewdale and Skelwith. Here again we are met by one of those circumstantial narratives of A. Craig Gibson, which we probably must not believe in too implicitly. The story, as Mr. Gibson tells it in excellent dialect in his "Folk Speech in Cumberland," lays the scene of the tragedy, which he makes to be the origin of the haunt, at a place on the lonely track between Hodgeclose and Oxenfell Cross. At this point travellers would at night be startled by the sound of a fearful struggle in the darkness; and to explain this, we have a grim tale of a lover murdering a rival, who, after a dance, had escorted the object of their mutual affections to her home at Tilberthwaite. Without question the place has had for years a bad reputation, but we have not yet met anyone who vouched for this story. We have indeed heard of a phantom coach and four appearing here, but what has this to do with a murdered lover? Phantom coaches, in whatever they take their origin, are a perfectly recognised form of apparition, and Mr. C. F. Archibald, of Rusland Hall, tells us that the same vague story exists about a rough fell-road in Colton. This is a curious and inexplicable form of haunt, for it is difficult to see why the people should associate coaches and fours with such unlikely localities. For it must be remembered that it is only within quite modern times that the Yewdale road has been made into a coachable road, and the hill-tracks in Colton are equally unlikely.

But whatever the reason, there is no doubt that the uncanny

is not only often illogical, but even ridiculous. The same old resident in whose youthful days dobbies were "aw up and down," remembered an absurd haunt at Smartfield above Coniston. The site, a certain "hogus" or sheep-shelter above the farm, is close, it may be noticed, to the British burial-ground on Banishead or Banniside Moor. The place had a bad reputation ; but most strange, inanimate objects sometimes became animate, and on one occasion a workman was nearly scared out of his wits and driven back to the farmhouse by the insane antics of a besom, which, leaning peacefully against a wall when he entered, suddenly dashed into the middle of the floor and executed a vigorous hornpipe round the terrified rustic.

But ghosts are not, or were not recently, extinct in the parish. Hitherto we have ventured to name the localities when they were resident, because we were enabled to lay them to our own satisfaction ; but now we must be more cautious, because, in the following example, we can neither explain away nor exorcise the phantom. Upon the margin of one of the three lakes which lie within or bound our parish, exists a handsome modern house, where, quite recently, "a lady in white" walked regularly, and was regularly seen by the inmates. This fair shade (for fair all who have seen have pronounced her) appeared anywhere in the house, and we believe at any hour. She caused no annoyance, was well behaved, and, as far as was known, had no history. There is, however, a curious thing connected with a lonely farm on the fell at no great distance. The farmer was repairing or altering a wall of a small outbuilding on a ruined farm close by his own. In doing so, he found a skull and several pieces of bone embedded in mortar, placed in a hole evidently prepared for their reception in the thickness of the wall. The skull was examined by a medical man, and was believed to be that of a woman. The other pieces of bone, which were small, had been *sawn* in two. What seemed to fix the date of this tragedy (for tragedy there undoubtedly was) as recent, was that the building had been re-roofed in

modern times, and if the skull was there when this took place, it must have been found by the workmen. This, however, does not prove perhaps very much, because it is quite conceivable that an ignorant workman on making such a discovery would pop the skull back into its resting-place, and hastily finish his job, thinking it best not to meddle in such a queer affair. But none of this part of the building seems very old, and we feel little doubt that the tragedy, although unrecorded, is of quite modern date. Curiously the farm has been untenanted for many years, and is now becoming quite ruinous. There is absolutely no evidence to connect the apparition with the tragedy, but it is curious that the white lady is described as dressed in a costume according with the probable date of the latter.

THE EASTER PACE-EGG PLAY.

The following version, a fragmentary one no doubt, may be compared with others in Lancashire and elsewhere. It belongs, properly, to Satterthwaite, and was formerly regularly acted there. Last year (1898) it was taught by Mrs. Hyde, a Satterthwaite woman, to Hawkshead children, who dressed up and performed it at most of the houses round. King George is, of course, properly St. George.

CHARACTERS:—*King George, Lord Nelson, The Doctor, Tossput, Bessy Brown Bags.**

Tossput.—Stir up the fire, and strike a light,
And see these jolly boys act to-night.
If you don't believe me, what I say,
Step in, King George, and clear thy way.

King George.—In steps I, King George; King George, it is my name.

My sword and dagger by my side, I hope to win the game.

* The concluding song shews that there are two Tossputs and two Bessies. The duplicates no doubt replace older and forgotten characters.

Lord Nelson.—The game, sir, the game, sir, it's not in all thy power ;

I'll cut thee and I'll slice thee in less than half-an-hour.

K. G.—What is this thou sayest ?

L. N.—What I say I mean to do.

K. G.—Pull out thy purse and pay.

L. N.—Before I'll pull out my purse and pay,

I'll pull out my sword and fight my way.

K. G.—My head is made of metal brass, my body's made of steel,

My hands and arms are knuckle-bone ; I'll challenge thee to feel.

[Here they fight with their swords. Then enter *Tossopot*, who says :—]

T.—Oh, George ! Oh, George ! what hast thou done ?

Thou'st gone and slain mine only son.

Mine only son ! Mine only heir !

How canst thou see him bleeding there ?

K. G.—He challenged me to fight, and why should I deny ?

I'll let him know King George was born to conquer or to die.

T.—I'll give five pounds for a doctor ; I'll give ten pounds for a doctor ; fifteen, twenty, twenty-five pounds for a doctor. Doctor ! Doctor !

Doctor.—Here am I.

T.—How came you to be a doctor ?

D.—By my travels.

T.—How far have you travelled ?

D.—From Italy, Sicily, France, and Spain,

All around England and back again.

T.—Is that all, sir ?

D.—No ; from the top of yon tally i ocean (? Italian ocean), sixty degrees below the bottom, where I saw houses made of snow, pancakes for slates, black puddings for nails ; even roasted pigs running up and down the street with knives and forks stuck in their cheeks, crying, "Eat me, eat me ;" for such a living man as I should never die.

T.—Is that all, sir?

D.—No ; from my grandmother's bedside to the corner cupboard, where I got so much bread and cheese, which makes me look so bulky and fat.

T.—I wasn't talking about fat.

D.—Neither was I.

T.—What were you talking about?

D.—About what I can cure.

T.—What can you cure?

D.—The ickity pickity plague within, the plague without.

If there's nineteen devils in this man I'll surely cast
twenty out.

And I've got a little bottle in my inside, outside, right
side, left side waistcoat pocket, which my grand-
mother gave me when I left Spain,

That will surely turn this dead man to life again.

Here, Jack, take a little of my nip-nap ;

Let it run down thy tip-tap.

Rise up and fight King George again.

L. N. (sitting up).—Oh, my back !

D.—What is the matter with thy back?

L. N.—My back it is broken ; my heart is confounded,
Driven into seven senses fourscore,

Which never saw the light of old England before.

T.—Take him away, doctor ; take him away.

SONG.

K. G.—Here's two or three jolly boys, all in one mind.

We've come a pace-egging—I hope you'll prove kind.

I hope you'll prove kind with your eggs and strong beer,

We'll come no more nigh you until the next year.

Fal the ray, fal the ray, fal the riddle ar al I day.

L. N.—So the first that comes in is Lord Nelson, you see ;

He's a bunch of blue ribbons tied down to his knee ;

He's a star on his breast, like diamonds do shine,

And I hope you'll remember it's pace-egging time.

Fal the ray, etc.

D.—So the next that comes in is our jovial Jack Tar,
 He fought for Lord Nelson all during last war ;
 He fought for his king and his country so good,
 He fought for Lord Nelson while he shed his blood.
 Fal the ray, etc.

T. (enters).—In comes I that niver come yet,
 With my lile head and my gert wit.
 If my wit be ever so small
 Me and my Pompey will conquer them all.

T.—So the next that comes in is old Tossput, you see.
 He's a valiant old fellow in every degree.
 He's a hump on his back, and he wears a pigtail,
 And all his delight is in drinking mulled ale.
 Fal the ray, etc.

Bessy Brown Bags.—In comes I, auld Molly Masket.
 Under my arm I carry my basket,
 Into my pocket I drop my cash,
 And think myself a jolly auld ass.

B. B. B.—So the next that comes in is auld Bessy Brown Bags.
 For the fear of her money she goes in old rags.
 She has plenty of money, and plenty in store,
 But she's come along with us and hopes to get more.
 Fal the ray, etc.

All.—So here we all are, full five in a row,
 A set of jolly sailors as ever you saw.
 Neither money nor eggs we will not refuse—
 Although we are pace-egggers we are not to choose.
 Fal the ray, etc.
 So ladies and gentlemen that sit by the fire,
 Put your hands in your pocket—that's all our desire.
 Put your hands in your pocket and pull out your purse
 And give us a trifle—you'll not be much worse.
 Fal the ray, fal the ray, fal the riddle ar al I day.

NOTE.—*I. Underground Passages.*—There are two instances of this common belief in the parish. One is at the Rawlinsons' old house at Graythwaite, where it is believed that a tunnelled passage exists from beneath the thick wall dividing the dining hall from the drawing room, to a mount in the garden, which, according to Clarke's "Survey of the Lakes," is built over a cellar. In the other

case a subterranean passage is said to run from beneath Hawkshead Hall to Furness Abbey, nearly nineteen miles as the crow flies. Though by no means equally absurd, both are probably equally untrue.

- II. *Saws and Sayings*.—These have never been properly collected. Mr. T. Taylor gives the following in his *Commonplace Book*, some being no doubt found elsewhere.

“A wet and windy May, fills the barns with corn and hay.”

“Who doffs his coat on winter day,
Will gladly put it on in May.”

“A green Christmas makes a fat churchyard.”

“A peck of March dust is worth its weight in gold.”

“If the sun shines not on Christmas day, the apple crop will surely fail.”

Mr. A. C. Gibson gives a variety in a paper in the “*Transactions Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society*,” from which we reproduce the following as belonging to the High Furness district.

“The towns are finished and the country unfinished,”

which seems to mean that Hawkshead, the capital, has stopped advancing; while the fells of Coniston, Seathwaite, etc., are ragged rocks and wild scenery to which the final touch has never been given.

“We’ll have to borrow Langden lid,”

used in wet seasons, and referring, presumably, to the excessive rainfall in Langdale, and the fact that it is so enclosed with hills that it could be covered in like a saucepan.

“Nowt good comes ower t’Raise.”

This must have been said by Amblesiders and Hawkshead people: but it shows the traditional rivalry between the people on either side of the past (Dunmail Raise).

- III. *Jenny Green Teeth*.—This lady is the slime or ooze on the margin of stagnant water. She must be a near relative of the German *Nixe*, a water demon with great green teeth, who hid among the reeds of stagnant pools, and lured the careless or the melancholy to the death of drowning.

CHAPTER VII.

DIALECT, PLACE-NAMES, AND FAMILY NAMES.

1.—DIALECT NOTES.

THE pages of a parish record are not the place in which to attempt to deal exhaustively with dialect, because, although it is essentially of local interest, the parish area is not as a rule sufficient to have its own peculiar dialect. It is indeed the fact that often dialect has slight but certain variations in contiguous areas, where there is no reason to suspect any difference in blood; but in these cases, there is generally a marked gash or separation of some sort in the face of the country, a great river, or a range of mountains which has always had the effect of preventing the inhabitants from intermingling.

The barriers which bound Hawkshead are insufficient for this purpose. Lakes are easily crossed, and the dales of Cumberland and Westmorland are filled with people of the same race as Furness Fells. The speech, consequently, is what is generally called Cumbrian, and such differences as exist from that of the remainder of the fells are only those which are brought about by the contact with the folks of plain Furness.

There is indeed a fairly copious literature on local dialect, and to this the reader who wishes to study the subject must turn.* In the glossaries, he will see how deeply impregnated with the Scandinavian element is the Cumberland vocabulary.

* See list at end of this Chapter.

Mr. Robert Ferguson, indeed, seems to be of opinion that of the whole vocabulary in local use, some twenty per cent. of the words are Scandinavian, while of words which differ from those of ordinary English, sixty per cent. may be perhaps of Scandinavian origin.*

When we come to treat of place names, we shall find a marked preponderance of Scandinavian words used to express the most characteristic landscape features. But *tarn*, *gill*, *beck*, and *fell*, are living words to-day, as well as place names, though to most Cockneys, they would be in a foreign tongue. Celtic words, however, are uncommon, and appear to be generally confined to certain agricultural terms, articles of diet, a few household utensils, personal nicknames and epithets; and these, we may assume, are just the terms which would be borrowed by the conqueror for use in communication with the conquered. Most interesting, perhaps, are the shepherding terms, which Mr. Ellwood has pointed out are all paralleled in Iceland or Norway by nearly identical words. The principal of these have been enumerated on page 259.† But, as a matter of fact, most words for farm-stock and adjuncts, like *lathe*, *midden*, *yaud*, or *shot*, are of northern origin.

There are also certain particles which may probably be accepted as purely Scandinavian.—*At*, for the infinitive “to”; *Fra*, “from”; *Intil*, for “into”; *Sair*, for “very”; are of this class, and are in regular use.

There probably remains, however, a great deal to do for the philologist in the Cumbrian dialects. It may be too late, indeed, to collect many unrecorded words, but the identification of their real origin is as yet far from satisfactorily carried out. Most of the workers in this field have been content to collect words and then to look up the analogous forms in Icelandic, Norse, and other dictionaries. But may it not be taken that a large number of colloquial

* “Dialect of Cumberland,” p. 220.

† Where it would have been more correct to render the Icelandic *smíta* “to steam after being anointed.”

words in these languages are totally unrecorded in their dictionaries. The dialect words we have given above are used by Englishmen at the present day, but Nuttall's dictionary contains neither *smut*, *trinter*, *gimmer*, nor *lathe*; yet these words are surely a part of the English language. The fact is that when we can bring together a committee formed of half a dozen students of Northumbrian, Cumbrian, and Yorkshire dialects, to sit in conclave with a similar number of workers from Iceland, Scandinavia, and the Hebrides, we may look to see the local glossary as it should be, but hardly before.

Here is a curious example of an unrecorded yet particularly interesting dialect word, which the present writer has often heard.

Taffle-horn, or *Taffiehorn*, is a sobriquet often applied to a weak-minded or thoughtless fellow. Now the meaning of this seems pretty clear. *Tafl* (Scandinavian), means dice; consequently, a *taffle-horn* is a dice box, from which emanates a meaningless clatter. No local glossary gives this, but in Dickinson we find *taffle*, to throw into disorder; *taffy* a weak-minded person.* And though no derivation is suggested, it is obvious that to dice and to throw into confusion are not far apart. However, *taffle*, the verb, seems to have got corrupted in Cumbria to *shaffle*, for we get the word *shafflehorn* with a meaning but little changed, *i.e.*, a dull, inefficient person. *Shaffle*, also, is found in local glossaries as the equivalent of our shuffle, to vacillate; but all and every of these forms look like the *tafl* or dice, and nothing else.†

* Taffy, the nickname, is considered only the short of David. But it looks rather as if it was a Furness Norseman who rhymed about his neighbour, the aboriginal Celt, whom he found in the fells—

Taffy was a Welshman; Taffy was a thief;
Taffy came to my house and stole a lump of beef.

† *Tafl*, in Cleasby and Vigfusson's "Icelandic Dictionary," is defined as borrowed at a very early date from Latin *tabula*, a game like old English "tables," draughts, and later, chess, and various other games. The Icelandic form is *hneftafl*, knave-table, and in the game as played in Iceland, dice are cast to determine how far each piece is to move. Whether, therefore, *tafl* is properly the board, the draughtsman, or the die, it is correct to call the box the *taflhorn*. *Shovel*board was presumably so-called because played with *tabulae*, *taffles*, *shovels*, or what you will.

There are certain grammatical forms, and also certain corruptions and abbreviations which are always used and very noticeable, and of these that which is most heard is probably the clipping of "the" into t'. "T' hee rooad's a girt way rund, thud't better gang by t' fell;" *i.e.*, "The high road is a long way round, you had better go by the fell." It is, of course, not peculiar to Hawkshead or even Cumbria. In talking "fine" with an "offcome" a daleside farmer might say "the," but hardly otherwise.

Another feature is the omission of the terminal "s" of the genitive—"Jacob lile me-ar," not "Jacob's little marc." Similar to this apocope is the frequent dropping of the word "is" in stating a fact. Thus, to the question "Whose mare is that?" we get answer "It" (pronounced like "idt") "Jacob lile me-ar," or sometimes the future "It'll be Jacob me-ar."

Simple sentences are often queerly arranged. Thus, instead of saying "Yon's a good cawf" (calf), the regularly used form is "It's" (or It) "a good cawf, is yon," thus really giving two sentences where one would suffice.

The slurring or softening of certain terminal syllables is usual. "Manage," "managed," become *manish*, *manished*; and "famished" and "wedded" are *famisht* and *weddt*. This is only a step beyond the accepted *slapt* instead of "slapped."

Adjectives are frequently qualified when there is no reason whatever to do so. This is part of the excessive caution we have alluded to—the rooted objection to make a positive statement. You greet a dalesman on a soaking day with "Wet day, John." In reply you get "*Rayder* wettish to-day," or still worse, "Aye, it a bit soft." There is no limit to this tendency to minimize facts. On the occasion of the 1887 Jubilee a huge bonfire was lit on the moor above Hawkshead. The pile contained about thirty cartloads of inflammable wood, thoroughly soaked with tar and paraffin. The blaze was enormous, and the flames themselves ten feet or more in length; yet one of the men who had helped to build it, a true dalesman, who had probably never seen anything bigger

in fires than that upon his own kitchen hearth, after staring a bit at it quietly remarked, "Aye, it's a *wārmish* mess is yon now."

Curious phrases are used to express enumeration of quantity. "A lile few" means hardly as many as there should be; "a gert few," rather more than were expected: "terrbble few," hardly any; and "ower few" signifies not as many as there should have been. On the other hand "a gert many," "terrbble many," "ower many," but never "a lile many."

Porridge, the old staple article of diet, and apparently a Celtic word, is always plural. You flavour "them" with salt, serve "them" in a piggin, and sup "them" with a spoon.

In Furness talk long "a" becomes a double syllable, "e-a," as "lame" and "cake"—*le-ame* and *ce-ake*; while the broad "o" in some words, as "home" and "stone," is treated nearly in like fashion—*he-ame* and *ste-ane*. In words beginning with "h," like the first, it is, however, frequently more like a "y" aspirated, than "he"—*hyame*, and then the sound is nearly monosyllabic. "Oa," as in "coal," becomes *oo-a—coo-al*.

"Oo," in monosyllabic words, has different local sounds. In "nook" and "flook" (a flounder) it becomes dissyllable—*ne-uk* and *fle-uk*; but where followed by "l," as in "wool," we only find the terminal letter omitted—"wool" and "pool," *woo* and *poo*. In the same way double "l," following "a" or "u," is mute, as in *pu* for "pull," *bu* or *boo* for "bull," and *wə* for "wall." "Ow," when broad, as in "cow," is pronounced *oo*, as *coo*; but when the sound is as in "crow" or "know" it becomes long "a"—*crā* and *knā*. "Aw," as in "hawk," is similar, *hāk*.

The single "o" varies in dialect as it does in the standard tongue. When it commences a word it is generally a "y," as *yan*, for "one;" *yak*, for "oak." "Hot" becomes *het*, yet "not" is generally *nit*; "spot," however, remains as elsewhere, and "got," being a participle, is not used, its place being taken by *gitten*.

"Ha" and "a" at the commencement of a word are sometimes sounded like "o" in a similar position. "Hare

is *hyare*, and "ale" *yale*. "G," in "gate," is softened, and we get *yett*.

"Th," when it is found in the middle of a word, is often *d* or *dd*. Thus, while "father" is *fädder*, "rather" becomes *rayder*. "V" is often changed into *b*, and when followed by "en" they are sounded like *bm*—*elebm*, for "eleven."

"Summer" and "hammer" are generally pronounced, as far as the letters *m* go, in the ordinary way; but curiously a dalesman will sometimes, when talking "fine"—that is, to a southerner, or to a person of superior education—change the sound to *mb*—*sumber* and *hamber*.

"Al," as in "calf" and "half," is *aw*—*cawf* and *hawf*.

The conjugation of verbs in the dialect grammar is most irregular, but we have no space to give the variations here. As a typical example we may quote:—

Present.	Past.	Past Participle.
Brust (burst)	Brast or brost	Brossen or brosten

It has been noticed that in the Cumbrian dialects there are an excessive number of words for the actions of striking and beating. This may be due partly to the descent of the inhabitants from the pugnacious Vikings, and partly to the unsettled condition of the border counties in more modern days. Dickinson has enumerated nearly a hundred such words in his Cumberland glossary, and many of these are common to High Furness.

There are also a number of remarkable expressions in use which to the stranger seem totally meaningless; but Mr. Craig Gibson derives them, seemingly correctly, from Roman Catholic expletives. *Goy* and *goyson*, *gock* and *gockson*, appear to be "God" and "God's Son"; *cocks wins* is "God's wounds"; and *cocks wunters* or *cocks winters* must be "God's wonders." These are all exclamations of astonishment in common use, and there are others similar. *Dine* is the ordinary form for "damn."

II.—HAWKSHEAD PLACE NAMES.

In the following lists we endeavour to deal with the place names of the parish. In recent years, however, Lake district nomenclature has received considerable attention, and it is not necessary to enter deeply into the general question here. All we need remark is that Celtic forms are very rare, and that where they occur there is some reason to think that they are sometimes Manx or Irish introduced by the Norse settlers. The great mass of the roots is Teutonic, and it is now generally conceded that throughout the Fells the place names are largely Scandinavian, and contain forms closely allied to the Icelandic.

There is, however, no doubt that among a large number of affixes and suffixes there are Danish and often Anglo-Saxon equivalents; and even the words which some writers on local names have given as Norse "tests," will hardly bear scrutiny. "Garth," containing the hard guttural, may be accepted as Norse: but "hause" and "holm" have both Anglo-Saxon forms; while "ton" and "ham" put often forward as characteristically Anglian and Saxon, both occur in Iceland.

Nevertheless, the main features of the landscape in Hawkshead are nearly all Norse in name. All streams are "becks," each valley is a "dale," each moor a "fell"; while the lesser lakes are "tarns," and the ravines are "gills." "Scale," "thwaite," and "hag," record the results of Norse colonization; and these eight words enter very largely into the nomenclature of our parish.

Although De Quincey was the first to point out the Scandinavian element in Lakeland names, the late Mr. Robert Ferguson may properly be described as the pioneer in this particular branch of enquiry. But Mr. Ferguson's work, as must be the case with that of all pioneers, while indicating broadly the main lines that the enquirer must follow, left large patches on his chart which little by little must be filled in by local workers in detail. Later students suggest that he finds an undue number of settlers' personal names; and

probably this may be the case. But it should be remembered that the derivation of place-names is, and must remain, a very uncertain matter. Names which can be plausibly derived in three or four ways are numerous, and to us it seems unduly arbitrary to lay down as certain, the derivation of many such words. There is no doubt that settlers' personal names do enter into many local place-names; and such as *Arni* in Arnside, *Finni* in Finsthwaite, *Haukr* in Hawkshead, and *Hrolfr* in Rusland, appear tolerably certain. Yet there are numerous names where similar derivations are at least doubtful; and the following list embodies such words as may contain personal names, although some are certainly capable of other explanations. Those marked with an asterisk* are especially doubtful, for most of them are but little known as regular Norse names in the Sagas, although they may have been used as nicknames, or among the Danes.

AMEL, HAMEL or HAMILL.—Ambleside still called Amelset or Hamelsid: perhaps also Great Hamlin Head.

ARNI, Arnside and Arnsbarrow. Apparently corrupted to Iron, in Ironkeld, near Arnside, and Iron Crag, near Arnsbarrow; but possibly from *Örn* (genitive *arnar*), an eagle.

*BAKKI, Bakestone Barrow. Backbarrow, opposite to which, over the Leven, are Back Heights; not, however, a recognised Norse name.

*BANNER.—Bandrake Head; in old documents, Banryghead. Like the last, does not seem to be known. (See "Band," in Glossary).

FINNR, in Finsthwaite (Finns-thveit).

HARRI and HARALD.—Harrow Slack, close to Harewood Hows (Harold's How?). Harry Guards Wood and Harry Intake may be modern.

HASTIN.—Hasty Mire; possibly only *hesta-mýrr*, horse pasture.

HAUKR, Hawkshead.—The old form should be *Hauks-sætr* or *Hauks-sidha*, though an old spelling suggests *Håkonar* or *Hákons-sidha*.

HRAFN, in Ravenscrag (if this is not from the bird), and in Ravenstie, *temp.* Henry VIII., but now lost. HRAMN, another form of same name, perhaps in Ramphall and Ramstead Coppice.

*HRANI (nickname).—Randy Pike, Renny Park, and Renny Crag. Might also be from *rani*, a projecting tongue of hill (see "Pike" in Glossary).

*HRÓI, Raw End and Rose Cottage.—Very doubtful (see "Raise," "Rose," and "Raw," in Glossary).

HROLFR, Rusland in time of Henry II. was Rolesland, from the Normanized form Rollo.

*HVATI (nickname), Waterbarrow.—But the Norse sound of *Hv* renders it doubtful.

KLEPPR, Clappersgate.—But the terminal *r* should have been lost in the genitive (Kleppsgata). *Klappar*=stepping stones, is suggestive.

KOLLI or KOLR, Colwith and Colton (but see "With" and "Ton," in Glossary).

LAMBI -(? Lamb, nickname). Lammer Stangs.

*LINA—Linsty Green?

LJÓTR.—Light How (Ljós haugr), now Light Hall.

ORMR.—Wormhole Hill. Either Orm's How or Serpent's Hole.

SÖLVI.—Silver Holme (Sölva-holmr).

*SPORR.—With a genitive *sparrar*; (nickname), Sparrow How.

SVEIN.—Swinsty How.

THORSTEIN.—Thurstan Water. *Temp.* Henry II., *Turstini watra*.

TOKI.—(Tocka was also a twelfth century Furness Monk), Tockhow.

*VADI.—(? a nickname), Wadbarrow.

Probably there are other names or nicknames, though they are difficult to identify. Rook How, Sweetenthwaite, Bletherbarrow,† and Spark Bridge, are all suggestive, and we recommend them to the scrutiny of students of Norse, for

† "Bleyda bjarg," Coward's Hill?

whom there is indeed a regular mine to be worked among names of fields and minor features in the Lakes. Such enquirers, however, should bear in mind that however, Scandinavian they may find any district, it would be absurd to suppose that every place was baptized in the days of Norse colonization. No doubt the local dialect remained full of purely Scandinavian words for many years, possibly centuries, and, although the dalesmen may have lost the olden grammar of the Vikings, they may have long continued to have named their clearings and steadings in the old Saga fashion. But every "thwaite" and "side" is not a thousand years old; nor must we necessarily reject a Norse derivation because it breaks a rule in Icelandic grammar.

In the two Glossaries which follow, are comprised (i.) the few Celtic forms which occur, and (ii.) those of Teutonic origin. Both are alphabetical, and short as they are, it has not been thought necessary to sub-divide them grammatically or in subjects. The distinctive and generally descriptive syllables are given, and under each the different place-names in which it is combined. The figures in brackets denote the sheet of the six-inch Ordnance Survey on which the name occurs. Names not under these heads, mostly of later date, we shall mention after the Glossary.

GLOSSARY NO. I.—CELTIC WORDS.

BOIREANN (Irish).—Properly a piece of rocky ground; but applied to a place with a ruined building. It has been suggested that this word is found locally as "burn," and that it has been introduced by the Norse from Man. Greenburn, and Greenburn Beck, just without our parish, are close to the old law hill in Little Langdale. The Roman Camp at Ambleside is in Borrans field; and a borran, or barrant, is a cairn. Possibly it remains in Burntriggs (2), Burn Knotts and Burntwood (8), the two being on the line we have suggested for a Roman road from Ambleside to Dalton.

BRAID (Irish).—A gorge: may survive in Brathay (2), the district undoubtedly taking its name from the river. If so, the Norse settlers added *a* (water).

CAER, or CAIRN, possibly in Carron (5).

CARRAIG, or CARRIG, in Crag. This may be taken as undoubted. Examples: Calf Crag (1), Man Crag (2), or the Rock Crag; Renny Crag (2), possibly Hrani's Crag; Boon Crag (4) (Pen Crag?); Bogley Crag (5), Cat Crag, Crag Head, and Iron Crag (7), the latter probably being Arni's crags; Charlie Crag (8). Another example with a Norse personal name, is probably Raven or Hrafn's Crag? (1).

FRITH.—The name of an intake on Hawkshead moor, belonging to the Hawkshead Hall estate. Frith undoubtedly, as an inland word, means "wood," though the place is now bare moorland. Halliwell ("Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words") quotes, "Also there is difference between the fryth and the fell," etc., "Noble Art of Venerie," 1611, p. 98. Welsh *ffridd*, a wood, J. P. Morris, "Glossary of Words and Phrases in Furness."

GLAS.—Irish for "stream": may exist in Glass Knot (8), on Bell Beck. In the Bloomsmithy decree, the Finsthwaite fishery is called Dulas, probably *dubh-glas* (black water). This word may, like *boireann*, be an importation from Man.

LEVEN, the river, and Beck Leven (4), are seemingly cognate with a Celtic word for stream. The Manx *lhing* (Gaelic *linne*) may perhaps be traced in Lin Bridge (8), but in Lindeth Wood (12) we find more probably, O.N., *lind*, lime, or linden.

MAN (Celtic, *maen*).—Applied to a rock or heap of stones on a hill top. Man Crag (2), High Man (5).

MEAYLL (Manx) and MEALL (Gaelic), meaning a bare headland, possibly survives in Oatmeal (? Out-meal) Crag (5). This should not be confounded with Norse words meaning sandbeds (*meols*).

PARK, ETC.—The numerous parks of Hawkshead parish are of mediæval origin, and have been treated elsewhere. It has long been in common use as applied to small

enclosures, under the form "parrock." It may be a loan word of Celtic origin (*cf.* Irish, *pairc*) brought from Man by the Norse settlers. It is not found in Iceland.

PEEL may have the same history. It is well established in Cumbria, and in Hawkshead is found in Peel Island. It always signifies a fortified site.

PEN.—Both Cymric and Gaelic—A hill. This almost certainly occurs in Pen Intake (4), and in Penrice or Penres (? Pen-raise or Pen-reth) (5). Pinstones (5), on Windermere, is more doubtful. With B, instead of P, we have Ben wood (7) and Benthouse? (11). Boon Crag, near Coniston Waterhead (4) may possibly be really Bondi's crag, but it may be compared with Bonchester, near Jedburgh.

UISGE.—Irish and Gaelic for water. Uskdale gap.

GLOSSARY NO. II.—TEUTONIC.

O.N., Old Norse. A.S., Anglo-Saxon.

A.—Norse; EA, A.S.; principally a suffix for a river. It is found in Braitha (2), where it may be compounded with Celtic *braid*; or it may simply be "broad river." Cunsey Beck (5), perhaps *Konungsa*—King's stream. A common old spelling was *Cunza*. Arklid (7), on the Crake, may be *Ar-klidhr*, the murmur of the streams, or *Ar-klettr*, the rock of the pools (*cf.* Clitherbeck, in Danby), but see under "Hlid." "A" possibly exists in Sawrey (5); Sourer *temp.* Ed. III., though we hardly think that *saur*—muddy, or clayey—is applicable here. See under "Wray."

BAND.—Both O.N. and A.S. for a fastening or boundary, applied to an elongated ridge of fell. Yewband (1). Bandrake (7) is most probably *Band-hryggr*.

BANK occurs in Sagas as a place-name, and explains itself. We have Priests Bank, and Break Bank (8) *i.e.*, Brekka Bank, the sloping Bank; Brock Bank Woods (8) and Tottle Bank (11). "Tottle" is a puzzle: it suggests Toft, a Danish place-word, hardly locally known: or Tuthill,

a look-out place, a suggestion of Dr. Christison.* A more common-place, but perhaps more common-sense, derivation is Todhole—Fox earth. Toft, however, is possible, as it is old established for “farm steadings.” Bank ground is named after a family of Banks.

BARROW.—O.N., *berg* or *bjarg*, and also Anglo-Saxon forms; the first meaning a hill or rock only, but when found with a proper name it may often signify tumulus. Sometimes, but we do not think locally, barrow represents *burg*, a fortified house. We have Brockbarrow (7) (badger hill), Gallowbarrow (2) (gallows hill), and Latterbarrow (2), apparently *Látra-bjarg*, the hill where the animals lie (see “*Látr*”). In Arnsbarrow (7), Backbarrow (12), Wadbarrow (2), Waterbarrow (5), and perhaps Bletherbarrow (7), we have perhaps the sites of sepulchral hills with names of the occupants (see list). Bakestone barrow (1) seems to be the barrow by the “ton” or homestead of Bakki. Skowbarrow (8) contains either *skogr*, a wood, or *skör*, a ridge. Yewbarrow (8) is possibly Ulf’s barrow, and Legbarrow, which has been suggested to be the Law mount (*Lögburg*), may equally well be *Lag bjarg*, or the hill in the glade (see “*Lag*”).

BECK.—O.N., *bekkr*, the general word for a brook. Generally an affix, as Canker Beck (2), but occasionally a suffix, as Beck Leven (4).

BELL.—Common in Lakeland, and is conjectured, perhaps wildly, to be evidence of some early cult, Celtic, or possibly Semitic, *cf.*, *Baal*, *beltain*; *bal*, O.N., a sacrifice, etc. It is perhaps found in Helvellyn. Bell has probably more than one origin, and in the lower ground, like Furness, may be from Scandinavian *bali*, a grassy bank. We have Bell beck (4, 7, 8), Bell Intake (8), Bell Wood (7), and Bell Moss (8). Some of these probably take name from a Bell family.

BIRK.—O.N., *björk*, a birch, and *birki*, a birch-wood. Birk

* “Early Fortifications in Scotland,” p. 16.

Knott, Moss, and Paddock (8), High Birk (4), Birk Row (7), Birkley Moss (5), Three Birks Wood (5).

BUTTS occurs once (8). Probably only allotments of common field, but possibly from Búdh (see below).

BÚDH.—A booth, O.N., remains in Bouth (12), and probably in Stockbird-Head close by (12), *Stokkr-búdh-hæd* (see also Stock). Bethacar (7), formerly Bothacar or Bottocar, is, we think, *Búðhar-kjarr*, the copse of the shanties. Possibly also in Butts.

BY.—The Danish is *by*, but the Old Norse form was *bær* (genitive *bæjar*), which dropped the terminal *r*, the sign of nominative in pronunciation, and was sounded like *by*. In large groups *by* is no doubt Danish: but scattered examples, as with us, may well be Norse. Newby Bridge (8) is probably late mediæval, while Nibthwaite, being Neburthwaite in time of Edward III., is probably *ny-bær-thveit*, or more grammatically *ny-bæjar-thveit*.

CALF.—As in Man and Iceland, with signification of a hillock by a hill, or an islet by an island. Calf Crag (1) below Long Fell in Yewdale.

CAM.—Norse, *kambr*, with meaning of a ridge. Cam stones (2), Cam Wood and Brow (5). The ridge of stones on a wall are the "camb."

CAR or CARR.—O.N., *kiarr*, copse or grove in Bethacar (see under "Búdh"), and possibly, but not probably, in Carron (5), which we have mentioned in Glossary No. I.

CLAIFE.—O.N., *kleif*, a cliff. There was Adam Clayfe, *temp.* Edward III.

CLOSE.—With its present meaning in Hodgeclose (1), Rake Close (5), (see also "Rake,") and Bull Close (2). The last raises a question discussed under Pull. "Close" is not, however, a recognised O.N. word.

COTT or COTE.—Not specially Scandinavian. It is found as a place-name suffix in Low Furness, and just possibly as an affix in Colthouse. The High Furness farms in the time of Henry VIII. were called "herdwicks and

shepecots," and a shed or waiting room at the Ferry, in old deeds, is always a "cote house."

COL.—O.N., *kollr*, a peak. *Koll-tún* or Colton, a farm on a peak. Colwith is either the wood on a peak or the wath or ford near the peak; either is applicable. There are, however, the personal names *Kolr* and *Kolli*.

CRAKE, the river (11), is no doubt the same word as our Creek. The Norse *krækja* to wind, seems closely akin, but, as a stream name, it seems unknown in Iceland: so Crake may be pre-Norse.

CROFT signifies a ditched field, similar to a close. N., *grafa*, to dig, whence peat graving at present day, and our grave. We have Gill Croft (4), and Wood Crofts (12). But Croft, like Close, is probably of comparatively late application.

DALE.—*dalr*, O.N., and Icelandic, connected with *deila*, to divide. It has been suggested that "dalesman" does not come immediately from *dalr* but from "dale," a division or portion of common land. In "dealing" cards this meaning is preserved: and the Norse and Cumbrian dales probably mean valleys allotted or dealt out to different owners. We have Yewdale (1); which probably had always its modern meaning, for in the time of Henry II. we find Yedale beke (Furness Coucher Book). Uskdale (1), where it is compounded with Celtic *uisge* water. Dale Park (5), Dales wood (4), and Grisedale (5), no doubt *Gris-dalr*, wild pig valley.

DUB.—A piece of standing water less than a tarn. The Scandinavian forms *djup*, etc., seem only to be applied to pools; but in Man it has the same meaning as in Cumbria. We have Dubs (1), Out Dubs (5), a pool out or distant from its big neighbour Esthwaite; Doup Moss (8) near Rusland Pool, and Clough Dub (8) (pronounced Cloo), a waterfall on Dale Park Beck. "Clough" is a ravine or a wood (Halliwell).

EES.—Ees (5) and Strickland Ees (5) are promontories on Esthwaite Lake (Eesthwaite), now nearly, and probably

at one time quite, surrounded by water. Ees How (5) is a hill at the foot of the same lake. The O.N. for island was *ey*; and the usual form we find in North England is the affix *ey*, as in Walney. Probably these three hillocks were known in early mediæval days collectively as the Eys, and the clearing around as Eysthwaite: but in later times, when the land became divided among different estates, it was forgotten that the form was plural, and each hillock retained the terminal *s*.

FELL.—Icelandic for a hill, and *fjall* for a range of hills; locally for all hills. There are the high and low fells. Oxenfell (2) has a parallel form in Norway; High Park Fell, Ausin Fell (8), and Wanefell Beck (5).

FLES.—In Iceland a green spot in the hills. Flass (11).

FORCE.—*fors*, O.N., and in Iceland the regular word for waterfall. Force beck, forge and mills (8).

FOLD.—There are both Icelandic and A.S. forms. Some writers consider it an enclosure of felled timber. Skelwith Fold (2), Foldyeat (5), Sawrey Fold (5).

GATE, or YEAT.—O.N., *gata*, a road. Clappersgate (2) (see under Norse names), Bellgate Moss (8), Outgate or Outyeat (2), the place where the road leads on to common land; and Stonygate (5), Buckyeats (8) (compare Backbarrow).

GILL.—O.N., *gil*; the regular word for a stream in a ravine, and used in same sense in Man and Iceland. Tom Gil (2), Gill Croft (4). Thurs Gill (2) is the Goblin's Ravine, whether in Old Norse or Old English.*

GRAIN found in Farra Grain (5), seems to be like the Icelandic *grein*, a division. Farra Grain Gill may be *Fjorgreina-gil*—four branches gill.

GROUND.—The origin of this word as a farm name under monastic rule is discussed elsewhere. Though *grund*

* A capital name for such a gloomy place. *Thyrce*, *Thussi*, *Thurs*—the Goblin—is preserved in the Northern Hobthrush. See notes on the various forms in the "Reliquary," Vol. IV., pp. 134, 135, and 209. *Thursa Gil* would be the original O.N. form.

in Iceland is found as a farm name, there is no reason to think that any of our "grounds" date back to the Norse settlement. It shows, however, that the Norse terms remained in use. We have in all collected fifty-six farms so named, but the following are in Hawkshead:—Atkinson, Bank, Borwick, Dixon, Dodgson, Holme, Keene, Knipe, Rawes, Rawlinson or Rownson, Roger, Sand (Sandys), Sawrey, Thompson, Townson, Walker, and Watterson Grounds.

GUARDS or GARTH.—From O.N. *gardr*, plural *gardhar*, a fenced enclosure. The English "yard" is soft, from the A.S. form, *geard*. We have Garth, Harry Guards Wood (1), Pullgarth (2), and Guards (4). The last syllable in Elinghearth appears to have a different origin.

HAGG.—Pasturage, both in Iceland and Furness. Hagg Wood (5), and Hagg Scar (8), and possibly Haybridge (8). Compare Hague, Haigh, and our hedge.

HAM.—Common in Anglian districts, but, as *heimr*, found in Norway and Iceland. Blelham (2), the name of a tarn, is very doubtful, however. Edward Blealme, 1606, in the Parish Register; so that a family may have given the tarn its name or taken theirs from it. Perhaps it was Blealholm.

HAMMER.—O.N., *hamarr*, a crag. Hammerhole (5).

HAVER.—O.N., *hafrar*, oats, in Haverthwait (oatlands clearing).

HAUSE.—O.N. and A.S. *hals*, a neck, applied to a depression between ridges of fell. Benthouse (11).

HEALD—Like the A.S. forms, *holt*, *wold*, and *weald*, signifying Woodland. Heald Wood on Windermere (2), and Heald Brow on Coniston (4).

HELL, as in Hellpotbridge (11), from *hella*, to pour. "Hell" is, however, open to various derivations.

HLIDH.—O.N., fellside. *Hörg(s)lidh*, holy place fellside, has been suggested for Ark-lid (7), but another derivation (see under "A") seems preferable.

HÖLM.—O.N., *holmr*, an island or low ground liable to be flooded round; sometimes locally applied to a steading on

a stream bank. Holmes Head (2) is possibly from an owner, but Beeholme (2) on Windermere and Elterholme (5) on Esthwaite are narrow-necked promontories. The first is possibly *Vē holmr*, temple or holy house holm. Silver Holme (8), perhaps also Blelham.

HOW.—O.N., *haugr*, a hill, not necessarily sepulchral, but probably often so when associated with a Viking name. Such may be Sparrow How (5), Tock How (2), Light How (now Light Hall) (8), while Raise How (2) is simply *hreysa-haugr*, cairn tumulus. We have also How (5), Ees How (5), Pierce How (1), Howgraves (2), Howdiggings (?), Howhead (4), Satterhow (5), *sætra-haugr* (but see "Sætr"), and Swinstyhow—apparently *Svein-stigi-haugr*, Swein's-hillpath-hill (see "Sty").

Tarn Hows (1). This name has caused much misconception. Nowadays it is more generally applied to the sheet of water than to the adjacent farm; but in the Parish Register, 1598, under spelling Tarnhouse, we find it certainly applied to the latter. In 1656 it becomes Tarnhows, and later Tarnehowes or Tarnehows. The guidebook fraternity, however, and other exploiters of the Lake District know only the beautiful sheet of water, which they advertise as Tarnhause, because "hause" is a hollow in the hills. This form is, however, their own invention. Until the dam was made and the level raised there were three tarns, and they were called "The Tarns" or "The Three Tarns," and no doubt the fellside where they are, Tarn Hows or Hows-intake.

No doubt the farm got its name from the adjacent lakelets. We incline to think that the 1598 spelling is the original one, identical in form with Highhouse; but if Tarn Hows it is pure Norse, from the hilly ground round the farm standing.

The Domesday name for Furness—Hougūn—has been derived from *haugr*, but it is doubtful. Hougēnai seems to remain in Walney (Island). Walney Scar is uncertain; it may mean Hawks Scar.

ING.—O.N., *eng*: meadow, may be preserved in Grassings Coppice (1).

INTACK (Intake).—As Pen or Castlehow intack; common and of comparatively modern date.

KELDA.—O.N., etc., a well, spring, or beck source. Iron Keld (2), Arna-kelda, *i.e.*, Arni's spring.

KNOTT.—O.N., *Knútr*, but with parallel A.S. form, a knuckle-like hillpoint. Knott Scar (5) (see "Scar"), Glass Knott (8), the stream knott, with Celtic prefix. Great Knott (7), and Birk Knott (7).

LAG.—See under "Ley."

LAND.—O.N. and A.S. We have Rusland=Rollos, or Holfsländ (Rolesland, *temp.* Henry II.), and there is Rüsland in Norway; Crosslands (8); and Rhudland (5), *i.e.*, perhaps *raud-land*, "red" or "rud" with iron ore. Ireland moss (12) ? Irishman's land moss.

LATTER.—O.N., *látr*, where animals lie, or lay their young; like our "litter." Latterbarrow (2), *látra-bjarg*. Hulleter (8), possibly *ulfa-látr*, wolf-lair.

LEA, LEY, and LAG.—*Lag*, *leg*, etc., both O.N. and A.S. forms. So "lie" in the vernacular is "lig," and Asmunderley once was Asmunderlag. Birkley Moss (5), and Striceley Wood (8), the Lag (1), and Lag Parrock (8), Logwood (7). Legbarrow Point (11), the south promontory of Furness-fells, may be fieldbarrow.

MERE.—We hesitate to pronounce on the origin of our only "mere." One of the best suggestions for Windermere is a personal name, Öñundarmýrr (Onund's mere), formed like Asmunderley. But if this is correct, Canon and Ravens Winder, Windyhow, and the surname Winder, have still to be dealt with.

MIRE.—With same meaning. *mýrr*, in Iceland; Hasty mire, Long and Cringle Mires (8), (circle mire). See "Hastin" in list of names.

NAB.—More correctly, *knab*, like Icelandic *knappur*, but there is also the form *nabbi*. Applied to headlands on Windermere, we have Rawlinson Nab (5), evidently recent; Red Nab (2).

ODD.—Icelandic, *oddi*. Greenodd (Grænoddi) (11).

PIKE.—A pointed hill: is found in Randy Pike (2). See “Hrani” in list of names; but possibly modern corruption of Reynold. *Piaka*, O.N., is to pierce, and *Pik* was a nickname. So “pike” may be fairly modern.

PULL.—O.N., *pollr*, a pool: but there are similar Celtic words. Generally as in Pool (5). Steers Pool and Rusland Pool (12), the slackwater of a beck in low ground. The derivation of Pull Wyke (2), a bay on Windermere, we think questionable, because not only is there Pull Garth close by, but the beck falling down the fellside is Pull Beck, and high up the fellside, near its sources, we have Pull Brow and Pull Scar. It is difficult to fancy that the name has thus climbed the fell from the bay on Windermere; and when we find, at no great distance from Pull Scar and Brow, a farm called Bull Close, the question arises if we have not really, in this series, the root *bol*, another name for a dwelling, *cf.* Bolstadher, in Iceland (Saga of the Ere dwellers). As pull and bull are “poo” and “boo” in dialect, the confusion seems likely. The stream running into a pool-like bay, might easily add to it.

POT.—O.N., *pottr*; properly a hole worn in the rocky bed of a torrent, but applied locally to any circular water-filled cavity, or depression. Like “dub,” it was late in use. Priest Pot (5) and Hell Pot (11).

RAISE.—O.N., *hreyssi*, a cairn (generally sepulchral). Raise How (2), *Hhreyssa-haugr*. Penros, a field near Keenground, was spelled Penres, *temp.* Henry VIII., and Rose cottage, or castle, a modern building, is close to Raise How. But the word rose is obscure. *Hross*, O.N., a horse, and *rhos*, Welsh, a moor, have been suggested. Roose, near Barrow, however, is locally pronounced Ree-as, which looks like raise.

RAKE.—Icelandic, *reik*, a walking or going. *Reika*, to walk, and *reka* to drive. An “outrake” is a fellside sheeptrack. Rake close (5). Bandrake head (7) is doubtful, and has been mentioned under “Band.”

RAW.—In Raw End (5). Very uncertain ; perhaps Row end, or “*raa*” (?) damp. Less likely is the personal name Hroi.

RIDDING.—Probably a mediæval form, though we have O.N., A.S., and Icelandic, *rydia*, *rjodr*, and *riddan*, to clear. It is much like thwaite in meaning, though the latter seems to be applied to the clearings for the homestead itself. Ridding⁵ is common about Colton ; Riddings (8), Riddings coppice (2), Riddings Wood (5), and Riddingside (11), Allen Riddings, (5), Abbot Riddings (12), Roger Riddings (8), and Cow Riddings (11). Rhudland is doubtful.

RIGG.—O.N., *hryggr*, with a parallel A.S. form. A rigg is still a ridged hill. The Riggs (7), Burnt Riggs (2), Rigg Wood (5), and Rigg Scar (7). Rigg Wood, however, may be named after the family. Bandrake is probably *band-hryggr*. “*Rig*” is mentioned in the 1196 boundary between Coniston water-head and Crake river.

SATTER.—From the O.N., *sætr*, a homestead, or, more particularly, a dairy farm. Compare our country “*seat*” and “*settlement*.” Satterhow (5) and Satterthwaite are quite clear, but the pronunciation, as well as variations, in old spelling of some old names, as Hawkshead and Ambleside (pronounced Hākset and Amelset) raise confusion between *sætr*, *sidha*, and *hæd*. As the old spelling teaches little, we are thrown back on the position of the sites. Thence we judge Ambleside and Hawkshead to be *sætr*, and certain fellside farms to be *sidha* (which see).

SCALE.—O.N., *skali*, a hut or booth, as for a woodman or shepherd. Scale Ivy (5) and Scale Hill (5). Skelwith is *skat-vidhr*—shedwood. Scale Green (5), however, is probably from the Scales family.

SCAR is either *skardh*, a notch, or *skör*, a ridge, with local meaning of a cliff face. Knott Scar (5) and Rigg Scar (7) are characteristic ; we have also Hagg Scar (8) and Scarhouse (2).

SEL.—O.N., Icelandic, and A.S. forms. Generally a small habitation, farm steading, or, perhaps, shepherds’ huts. Selside (7) (see *sidha*) and Sales (7).

SIDHA.—Fellside (homestead), as noted previously, very difficult to distinguish from *sætr* and *hæd*. Arnside (2), from its position, is doubtless Arna-sidha, and it probably remains in Sidehouse (7) (*sidha-haugr* ?) and Selside (7). Hawks-head, in old documents, has the last syllable both "side" and "set."

SIKE.—O.N. and A.S. forms. Signifying a watercourse liable to run dry. Sike Side (2) and Hannikin Sike (2). Black, possibly Blakkas' sike (8) and Broadsike (8).

SLACK.—O.N., *slakkr*, a slope, still in use when meaning of a hollow, often boggy. Harrow (Haralds ?) Slack (5), Slack (5), Slack Cross and Wood (5), Ashslack (8), and Longslack.

STANG.—O.N., *stöng*, is found in Stang End (1), Stang Moss (7), and Lammer Stangs (8).

"Stang" is good local dialect for a wooden pole or beam, and was no doubt formerly used for a wooden foot-bridge. The bridge over the Brathay is now on the Ordnance Survey, Stang End Bridge, but no doubt was originally only The Stang, and the farm became Stang End from its position. This is carried out by the entry in the Parish Register, 1672, which refers to the Pool Stang near the gibbet. This must have been the old wooden Pool Bridge, as there was not then, nor is there now, any other feature near Gibbet Moss which could bear a name.

STOCK.—O.N., *stokkr*, A.S., *stoc*, with the meaning apparently of a log hut or stockaded enclosure. The "Stoke greene" (lost now as a place name) was the rendezvous for the insurgents at Hawkshead in the "Pilgrimage of grace." It was "beside Hawkeside kirke." We have Stocks (7), White Stock (8), Brim Stock (5), from its site on the fell edge, and Stockbird Head (12). *stokkr-búdh-hæd*=stockaded booth hill.

STEAD.—O.N., *stadhr*, with cognate A.S. form, and common in Iceland. A residence or abode. Ramstead (2) is *Hramnsstadhr*. Bowkerstead (7) perhaps is *beyka-stadhr*=Cooper's stead; and Barkhouse Bank close by, may contain the same name.

STY.—In O.N., *stigi*, and A.S., a rough hill track. In Furness a ladder is a “stee.” Breasty Hall (5), Linsty Green (8) (see under Leven) and Swinsty How (8), *Svein-stigi-haugr*. Ustick moss (5) may be Ulf’s sty or *stigi*, retaining the guttural Norse terminal.

TARN, O.N., *tjorn*. The ordinary Lakeland word for a small lake. Tarn Hows (2), Blelham- (2), Allen- (7), and Bortree (Elder-tree) (8) Tarns.

THWAITE.—O.N., *thveit*. In Iceland a field sloping to a level, but usually explained as a forest clearing, and hence an enclosure. We have Cooperthwaite (2), Lonethwaite (2), probably *laun* or Hidden thwaite; Esthwaite (5) (*Ees-thwaite*), Graythwaite (5), possibly from the name Gretti, or else only “Poor man’s” thwaite; Finsthwaite (8), Finni’s clearing; Satter, Sunny, and Sweeten thwaites (5), Thornthwaite (5), The Thwaite (4), Kirkthwaite, and Thwaite Head (8). Nibthwaite (7) has mediæval forms—Newburthwait and (*temp.* Ed. III.) Neburthwait (see “By bæ”) ; Ickenthwait (8) has, among other old forms, Yccornethewayt, which has been explained as Squirrels’ thwaite; Tilberthwaite was spelled (*temp.* Rich. I.) Tildesburghthwait, and is supposed to be *tjald-borgar-thveit*—tent-fort-clearing (compare Tjaldastadir (Icelandic) and Tildesley in Lancashire); Haverthwaite (12) is *hafrar-thveit*—oatlands clearing.

TON.—Isolated examples, as found in the fells, may well be Norse. As *tún* it is well known in Iceland, and is paralleled by the border “town.” Colton (7) may be either the farm on the koll or hill, or Kolli’s town; Coniston—*konungs-tún*—King’s town, and old spellings bear this out; Monk Coniston is the part of the valley in the monks’ manor; Bakestone (1), Bakki’s-tun (?); Tunwath (Penny Bridge); and Broughton was just outside of the parish.

TONGUE.—Both O.N. and A.S., a tongue-shaped hill. Tongue Intack (2), Tongue Wood (5).

WATER.—O.N., *vatr* and *vatn*. The majority of the larger lakes are “waters.” Elterwater (1) may be either Eldertree lake or perhaps *hölda-vatr*, the Statesman’s Lake; Conis-ton Lake formerly was always Thurstan Water, from Thorstein, *Turstini watra* (*temp.* Henry II.); Esthwaite Water.

WATH.—O.N., *vadh*, a ford, exists probably in Blawith. Colwith, Skelwith, and Lindeth are, however, with more probability derivable from With (which see).*

WYKE, etc.—O.N., *vík*, a bay. Pull Wyke (2) and Robin Wyke (5). Kiddockwood (2), on Windermere, is possibly *kelda vík*; and Baswicks (5), also close to bays on the lake, may be only where perch were caught.

WICK.—In Lowick, the only place name containing “wick,” we seem to have the same Saxon word as in Herdwick and Bailiwick. Low-lying village is applicable; but the O.N. *veggr*, a building, and *vegr*, a way, should be borne in mind; the old spelling, Lofwic, should be noted.

WITH.—O.N., *vidhr*, a wood. Colwith, Skelwith (2), and Lindeth (12) (see “Wath,” “Col,” “Scale,” and “Leven”); Blawith, being just over the Crake river, is more probably *blá-vadh*, blue (stream) ford.

WRAY.—O.N., *rá*, a nook. Wray (2), Birkwray (2); but Sawrey (5) we have mentioned as possibly containing *a*=water. Placed, however, as it is at the south corner of the same fell which terminates at its northern end at Wray, may it not be *Sudr-rá*, *i.e.*, South Wray?

In conclusion, a few names may be mentioned which are not covered by the above glossary. First we give a few puzzles—words concerning which no very plausible origin has suggested itself to us.

Hanikin (2), a point on Windermere, and Hannikin (5) near Hawkshead. The latter in the Register is Hanikin, or Annykin Sike. Ausin Fell (8), the Crams Wood (11) and Moss (12) on Rusland Pool, Argent Close (5), Scutching House (5), and Hecate Scar (5); Roam Moss (12) and Roam Wood; Scab Moss (2) and Moss Eccles Moss (5).

* Elsewhere it has been shown that Penny Bridge was Tunwath (*Tún-vadh*).

There are a few other queer names which have a more modern sound, but are equally difficult to explain. They are Shive (slice) of Cheese (8), Wise-cen-Moss (5), Goosey Foot Moss (5), Round Table (5), and Spy Hill (7).

Names marking some peculiarity in situation are of course common. Outcast Coppice (5), outlying from its farm; Park-a-moor (4), the enclosure in or on a moor; Crooks (8), from the windings of Rusland Pool; Scavy (or rushy) Mere Moss (5); Canker Beck (2), where the water is tinged with iron ore, like canker or rust; Wall in Green and Wallet Wood (Wallhead Wood) (8), close together, may show the forgotten site of some ruin, the place being about on the line of the presumed Roman road; Glead (or kite's) Nest (8).

Besides the numerous grounds, many other names contain those of former owners. Such are Allen Tarn (7) and Ridding (5), Charley Crag (8), Hodgeclose (1), Penny House (1), Strickland Ecs (5). Castlehow Intack is where the Castlehows had their hut; Water Barnetts (2) is an intack where the road from Outgate to Skelwith crosses that from Ambleside to Coniston. It is, possibly, Walter Barnett's (intake), for it should be noticed that while "water" in dialect becomes "watter," "Walter" is changed to "Water."

The Cross (5) and Crosslands (8) may mark the sites of wayside crosses, but High Cross (2) and Oxenfell Cross (12) are only cross roads.

Priest's Bank (8), Pot (5), and Wood (5), and Abbot's Oak (8), Park (7), and Ridding (12) tell of the days of monastic rule. Gallowbarrow (5) was the site of the monastic furca; Gibbet Moss of the later felon's gibbet.

Justice Scar (8) takes, no doubt, its name from some local magnate, as Bishop Wood (5) was the property of Bishop Watson (Llandaff), whose estate lay across Windermere.

Devil's Galop (5) and Bogley Crag (5) are sites of local superstitions, and Holywell Wood (8) no doubt the site of some spring regarded with superstitious reverence. Sepulchre Wood (2) we have elsewhere suggested may have been the site of a Quaker interment.

Names from industries are not common. Tenter Hill and

Tenter Close (2) show, no doubt, where locally-spun cloth was stretched to bleach. Galloway Lane (5) is perhaps where the villagers first caught sight of the strings of pack-horses or galloways entering the valley from Ulverston. Names with "ash" and "cinder" in them are common in Rusland and Colton, and generally mark the sites of ancient iron bloomeries. Ashslack, Cinder Hill (8), Ashes Bridge (8), Ashes Wood (12). The bloomery heaps at Low Dale Park and Farra Grain are both locally known as Cinder Hill. Great Ore Gate (5) is the track by which the pack-horses carried in the ore to the Cunsey Forge, and Elinghearth seems to be the hearth where wood ashes or charcoal are made (see West's "Furness," 1775, Appendix IX., where he explains "cling" thus).

Guinea Hill, New South Wales, and China Plantations are all on Grisedale Moor. They are larch woods, all, consequently, of modern date, and named no doubt by the Ainslies, who had been much connected with the east.

III.—FAMILY NAMES.

We have said something elsewhere about the clan system, as we have ventured to call it; but in the following pages we give alphabetically the thirty-eight families, the names of which occur most frequently in the Register from 1568 to 1704. All these are mentioned in the Register over seventy times, and all were resident within the limits of the parish. With them are included, for special reasons, seven other names which occur less often. These are Rawes and Blumer, which seem indigenous, although they disappeared early; Redhead and Swainson, which are characteristic of Furness Fells, although their centres are on the boundary of the parish not within it, so that they registered elsewhere. Fell is included, though locally scarce, for reasons that will be given. Bouth, as a surname, occurs prior to but not in the register, and Finsthwaite still occurred just out of the parish in the Cartmel district till the eighteenth century.

The names may be classed in four distinct groups:—(i.) Patronymics, ending in "son"; (ii.) names taken from sites of habitation, or place names; (iii.) names derived

from occupations, (iv.) names derived from personal characteristics, and nicknames, and (v.) Norse names. Under these headings we subjoin them; but several in the place-name list are not certain, and these are so marked. One of the patronymics is characteristically Norse, and appears also under that heading; and Redhead may be either place-name or nickname. It is highly probable that all these families, with a few exceptions (Nicholson, Borwick, Sandys, and Strickland), have been Furness stocks ever since surnames became hereditary, and probably most of them took their rise within the limits of the Parish. It will be seen that there is nothing specially Scandinavian about the list. The "sons" are very numerous, and this was a Scandinavian form. But to attempt to derive them, as has been done by some authorities, from Scandinavian, Maesogothic, or Frisian originals, when almost all are directly paralleled by modern Christian names and their abbreviations, appears to us very far fetched.

Place Names.	Patronymics.	Occupations.	Nicknames.	Norse.
Banks	Atkinson	Blumer	Keen ?	Ashburner ?
Borwick	Benson	ffisher	Redhead ?	
Bouthe	Dickson	Taylor		(Swainson)
Braithewaite	Dodgson	Turner		
Fell	ffrearonson	Walker		
Finsthwaite	Harrison			
Holm	Hirdson			
Kirkley	Hodgson	{ ffrearonson (friars' son ?) Herdson }		
Knipe	Jackson			
Mackereth ?	Nicholson			
Pennington	Rawlinson			
Penny ?	Robinson			
Redhead ?	Swainson			
Rigge	Tomlinson			
Rawes ?	Townson			
Sandys	Waterson			
Satterthwaite	Wilson			
Sawrey				
Scales				
Strickland				

Analysis of the family names of Hawkshead parish, the probable derivation, the location of the stock, and the number of occurrences in the parish register, 1568 to 1704:—

ASHBURNER (209). It has been conjecturally derived from the charcoal smelting industry: but the Norse name Asbjörn makes genitive Asbjarnar; and it seems possibly a patronymic from which the “son” has been dropped. Compare Swinburne and Ashkettle and the forms Svein Björn and Asketil. The home of this family, though it was fairly numerous, appears south of the parish.

ATKINSON (269). Atkin *dim.* of Adam. Widely spread in the parish. Elterwater Park, Monk Coniston, Stot Park, Outgate, Eelhouse, etc.

BANK(S), BANCK(S), BANKES (272). Possibly contracted from Bankhouse. It may be of purely local origin. It left its name at Bank-ground in Coniston.

BENSON (489). Foster, in his “Lancashire Pedigrees,” deduces the descent of the Brathay Valley Bensons from a Yorkshire family, Lords of Ryssup in the twelfth century. We know, however, no evidence of this, and from their numbers would consider them of purely local growth. Benson may have originally been Bennetson, Furness Abbey having been at first Benedictine, *i.e.*, of the Order of St. Benedict or St. Bennet. This old ‘statesman stock was seated chiefly at Skelwith Fold, Bull Close, and Stang End in Hawkshead, but extended into Westmorland, where they owned Bays-brown Manor, and estates at Loughrigg, and Hugill near Windermere. Some branches of them married with the important local families of Braithwaite of Ambleside, Gilpin of Kentmere, Sandys of Graythwaite, Preston of Holker, Rawlinson, etc., and in all the older documents concerning Hawkshead they figure conspicuously. There was another stock of Bensons at Blackbeck, in Colton.

BORWICK (133). This family probably sprang from Borwick, near Lancaster. In the parish they existed at Monk Coniston, Hawkshead, and Fieldhead, and they left their name at Borwick Ground.

BOUTHE (DE) occurs in the Furness Coucher book early in the fourteenth century. There is no occurrence in the older Register book.

BRAITHWAITE, BRAYTHWAIT, BRATHWAIT, BRATWHAT, BRATHATE, etc. (2,513). This, the most numerous and characteristic of our surnames, did not probably originate in the parish, but must have sprung from one of the north country villages of the name. The suggestion that they took their name from the Brathay is valueless, the terminal "ay" being quite distinct from "thwaite." The most important stock of this family was at Ambleside Hall, just beyond our limits, and they and collateral branches became large landowners in Westmorland. But the name was so deeply rooted in Hawkshead, that it is probable that these squirarchal families were but branches of the Furness Fell stock which had risen to affluence. A good idea of the geographical distribution of this family can be got from the "Calendar of Richmond Wills," 1457 to 1748 (Record Soc.). By this we find that out of about one hundred and seventy-seven wills of Braithwaites, about one hundred and twenty-four are of Hawkshead Parish. There are no less than thirty-five which can be identified as of inhabitants of Sawrey, nine of Wray, six of Skelwith and vicinity, four of Brathay and vicinity, and of the remaining seventy, a considerable number are not specified as of any particular part of the parish, and probably mostly belong to the Sawrey clan. The Skelwith, Wray, and Brathay groups are, perhaps, to some extent, offshoots of the Ambleside stock; but the Sawrey group (Briers, Satterhow, Harrow-slack, etc.) is so strong that it may well have been the earliest settlement of the name.

DICKSON, DIXON (284). The name Richard would, no doubt, give rise to several stocks, so that we find it widely spread. It is found at Satterthwaite, Keenground, and just out of the parish at Tilberthwaite. They left their name at three Dixon-grounds—one in Coniston, one at Dalton, and the local one at a farm which about 1700 became amalgamated

with High House, the old name of the present writer's home.

DODGSON, DODGHSON, DODGHSHON, DODSON (433). The best derivation is, like Hodgson, from Roger's son. But there are early mediæval forms, Dodo, Dadi, etc., which render it uncertain. About half of the wills under this name in the Richmond Calendar are from Hawkshead. They left their name at Dodgson Ground, and were also at Hawkshead, Hawkshead Hill, Nibthwaite, and elsewhere.

FELL, FFELL.—It is very interesting to observe that while in Ulverston and Low Furness, the Fells swarm, they are in High Furness very scarce. No doubt there were several original stocks of the name living on the lower fells, just above plain Furness. These men, in mediæval times, when surnames became fashionable, were known, no doubt, in the Dalton market and on the more thickly inhabited plain, generally as John or William "of the Fell," and hence the name. Right in the fells, as at Hawkshead, it would not be distinctive to designate a family thus, and, consequently, the Fells are scarce, and no doubt those which occur had migrated north.

FINSTHWAITE(E), FINSTHWAYTE, FINSTWATE, FINSTWHAT, FINSTAT.—Not in the oldest register book, but must have originated in the parish. There are eight wills in the "Richmond Calendar," all of Cartmel, Carke, or Staveley, in Cartmel, between 1597-1711.

FFISHER, FISHER (205).—Though fairly numerous, there are few local wills, and the family probably came from the shores of Morecambe Bay—whence their name.

FFREARSON, FFREARESON, FFREARSONE (199).—The name may be Friar's son. Frere, and le or del Freres, occurs in the Furness Coucher Book, *temp.* Richard II. and Edward III. Few wills in the "Richmond Calendar," but most of the earlier are from this parish.

HARRISON(E), HARRINSON (127).—Like Dickson, common throughout Archdeaconry of Richmond. In Hawkshead they belong to Colinpit, Low Wray, How Head, Tarn Hows, Waterhead, etc.

HIRDSON(E), HERDSON, HYRDSON, HURDSON (96).—In the fells every man was a “herd” or flock master, so the name is fairly common. Hyrde and Herde also occur, but Shepherd and Coward (cowherd) are not common. Most of the Herdsons are from Colton, and about half of the wills in the Archdeaconry are from the parish.

HODGSON, HODSON, HODGEON, HODGSHON, HOODGSON (247).—Presumably Roger’s son. Roger was a popular name in Furness in mediæval times, as the Abbey Coucher Book shows. The name is common in the Archdeaconry, but found locally at Tarn Hows, Bouth, Gallowbarrow, Hollin Bank, Watterson Ground, Tilberthwaite, Oxenfell, etc.

HOLM(E), HOLMES (789).—Took their name from some Holm (see Glossary of Place-names), perhaps, but not necessarily, on the coast. Holme Ground was the centre of the settlement of this stock, and they are found at most of the farms round it, both within and without the boundary of the parish. Also at Claife, Outgate, and Colton.

JACKSON (254).—So universal that it needs no comment. Chiefly at Park and Elterwater Park.

KEEN(E) (294).—On this name, which seems to be almost peculiar to the parish, we can venture no opinion, although the probability is, it is a Norse adjective. Found chiefly close to Hawkshead, at Keenground, Thompson Ground, etc., but occurs also at Yewtree, Cowpark, and Oxenpark.

KIRKBY(E), KIRKEBYE, KIRBY (289).—They appear to be all branches of the Kirkbys, of Kirkby, in Furness, who strayed north-east. Hollin Bank, Rusland, Monk Coniston, and Sawrey Ground.

KNIFE, KNYFE, KNPPE, KNYPP (412).—No doubt from “Gnipa,” a peak. Gnype, *temp.* Richard II., in the Furness Coucher Book. The family may have sprung from a place of the name in Broughton, but it is most common in Cartmel and Hawkshead parishes. About one-third of all the wills are from the latter. They left their

name at Knipe Fold, and occur also in Monk Coniston, Grisedale, and elsewhere.

MACKRETH, MACKERETH, MACKARETH, MAKRETH, MAKERETH, MAC(E)RETH, MACRETHE, MACKETH (796).—The origin of the name is obscure, and we hesitate to pronounce upon it. Compare Magrath and McReath, but the analogy is doubtful.

A very characteristic local name, about twenty-six out of thirty wills in the Archdeaconry being from Hawkshead, so that the family may be autochthonous. Chiefly found at Sawrey, Skelwith, Outgate, and Thompson Ground.

NICOLSON, NICHOLSON, NICKOLSON (100).—Son of Nicholas. There were five generations of Nicholsons at Hawkshead Hall in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and among others a branch at Lowson Park. There is reason to think they came from the Kendal or Amounderness districts in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries.

PENINGTON, PENNINGTON, PEMINGTON, PENIGTON (78).—Either an offshoot of the Penningtons of Pennington, before their migration to Muncaster, or an independently originated 'statesman stock. The colony was chiefly in Colton, Bandrakehead, Cowridding, Longmire, Oxenpark, etc. One of this Colton stock married a Rawlinson, and in one of Dugdale's visitation pedigrees a shield bears in the second quartering, Or 5 fusils in fess sa.

PENNY, PENNYE, PENEY, PENNEY (83).—The derivation of the name is a crux, but apparently contains the Celtic "pen." The clan belongs to the Crake valley, and gave name to Penny Bridge, at the end of the sixteenth century. Nearly all the Richmond wills are from this district, and out of the thirty-five, about eleven are on the Hawkshead side. In the parish, Colton, Bouth, White-stock, Nibthwaite, Yewtree, Tarn Hows. Besides Penny Bridge, they left their name at Penny House, in Yewdale.

RAWLINSON(E), RAWLINGSON, RAWLISON, ROLLINGSON, ROWLINSON, ROLLINSON (213), or with ROWLANDSON,

etc., which may be the same (257). — This is apparently a purely local stock. The natural derivation is from Rawland, or Rowland, but it is most interesting to note that the whole family centres round Rusland, which, as we have seen, was still Roleslande, *temp.* Ed. III. It seems quite possible that we have Rollosons of the original Norse stock, and Rollo-son is indeed very nearly the modern local pronunciation. As an armigerous family they existed at Graythwaite and Carke Hall, in Cartmel. Their name was, however, widely scattered in the parish, but they were most numerous in Colton (Greenhead and Rusland). Also at Grisedale; while they left their name at Rawlinson Ground.

REDHEAD, READHEAD(E), RIDDHEAD (40).—A purely local stock, but its centre was just out of the parish, over the Crake. (Blawith, etc.) The name was also common at Nibthwaite. It may be a nickname, or possibly Riddhead, a place-name with same root as in "ridding."

RIGG, RIGGE (1,631).—From "rigg," the name of some place (see Glossary). This is the second strongest Hawkshead family, and out of one hundred and forty-four Richmond wills, ninety-seven are from the parish. They seem of purely local growth, and were chiefly located about the town, where, in fact, few farms were not, at one time or another, inhabited by a Rigge. Further afield they were found at Satterthwaite, Sawrey, Haverthwaite, Water-son Ground, Penny Bridge, etc. They strayed to Bouth and Nibthwaite, but seldom left the parish. Keen ground, till the beginning of last century, belonged to the Riggess, now of Wood Broughton, in Cartmel. Like Braithwaite, it is now rare.

ROBINSON (125).—Diminutive of Robert. Common all over the Archdeaconry. Locally strong in Colton.

ROWES and RAWES (7).—Though only seven occurrences in the register, all but two are prior to 1589, and as there was once Rawes Ground, near Hawkshead, they seem to be a local family, becoming early extinct. The derivation is

most doubtful, but is possibly a corruption of Raw House, Damp House (?); but see "Rose," etc., in Glossary of Place-names.

SANDS, SANDES, SANDYS (761).—The family came from the Cumberland coast, where they took their name from the sands, "del Sandes." Settled at Graythwaite about fifteenth century, but found also at Bouth, Hawkshead, Grisedale, and Finsthwaite, all no doubt of the same stock.

SATTERTHWAITE (numerous spellings) (1,539).—A place-name (see Glossary). The woodland clearing settlement. This is the third most prolific stock, and, of course, quite local. The name seems to have spread less than the other great families, and out of eighty Richmond wills, seventy belong to the parish. At Satterthwaite itself, they were however, in the sixteenth century, less strong than elsewhere, being found also at Sawrey, Colthouse, Parkamoor, Roger Ground, etc. Colthouse was, however, their stronghold, and the family there (still represented) have long been members of the Society of Friends.

SAWREY, SAREY, etc. (830).—Like the last, a local place-name (see Glossary), but not so prolific as Satterthwaite and Rigge, and now nearly extinct. In the time of Henry VIII. they existed as an armigerous family at Graythwaite, but migrated to Plumpton Hall, near Ulverston, being supplanted at Graythwaite by the Rawlinsons. Originally, of course, at Sawrey, but out of sixty-one Richmond wills, there are only five of Sawrey members of the family, although no less than forty-three belong to members of the family within the parish. Another branch, evidently closely akin to the Graythwaite branch, from the identity of Christian names, were of Sawrey Ground and High House, but both became extinct at the end of the seventeenth century, and both little estates passed by a female heir to the Swainsons. They are also found scattered over Monk Coniston and Fieldhead quarters. The name is now rare.

SCALE, SCALES, SCHALES, SKELE (274).—Named probably from Scales, a village in Aldingham (see "Scale" in Glossary of Place-names), but seem to have migrated early to Hawkshead parish. They were at Grisedale, but most numerous in Colton, at Bowkerstead, Thwaite Head, etc. The latter family is still represented by Robert Scales, of Satterthwaite (see pages 310 and 313).

STRICKLAND (190).—Probably a branch of the Westmorland Stricklands. The local colony was in Colton, chiefly at Ickenthwaite, Rusland, etc.

SWAINSON, SWENSON (14).—The name is perhaps the best example of a purely Norse surname—Swein's son. The stock belongs, properly, to the fells of North Lancashire, but only made its appearance as a Hawkshead family on the marriage of Christopher Swainson with the last of the Sawreys of High House in 1692. They were, however, very numerous about the Crake Valley and in Cartmel Fell, and the Ulverston parish register index contains nearly two hundred references to the name. They appear to be purely local in origin, for we find a Henry Fitz Swain, one of the thirty sworn men in the twelfth century dispute about the Abbot's boundary; also John Swaynsone, Inq. P.M., Will de Coucy, Lord of half of manor of Ulverston, *temp.* Edward III. (Furness Coucher Book). Mr. Collingwood makes the hero of his Norse romance about Coniston, Thorstein Sweinson, discover Thurston Water in 934.

TAYLOR(E), TAYLER, TAYLIOR, TAILOR(E), TAILER (649).—Probably the meaning is tax or due collector (*cf.* Taillage, a tax, Anglo-Norman, Halliwell). The stock is very numerous locally, but by no means confined to the parish. The name occurs in various forms in the Coucher Book of Furness Abbey. In the parish it belongs especially to Finsthwaite (Plum Green), but is found in other parts of Colton and at Sawrey.

TOMLINSON(E), THOMLINSON (190).—From a diminutive of Thomas; by no means confined to Hawkshead, but found locally at Grisedale, Hawkshead, Roger Ground, etc.

TOMPSON, TOMSON (85).—From Thomas, common everywhere : but they left their name at Thompson Ground.

TOWNSON(E), TOWNESON, TOWENSON(E), TOWSEN, TONSON(E) (363).—Either a contraction of Tomlinson (Robert Townson or Tolneson occurs in the Richmond Calendar), or else from Anthony, *i.e.*, Toneyson. They left their name at Townson Ground, the site of which is now occupied by Tent Cottage.

TURNER (241).—An occupation name. The Commissioners' certificate (37 Henry VIII.) mentions "sadeltrees, cart-wheels, cuppes, etc., wrought by Cowpers and Turners." Chiefly found in south half of the parish, which was woodland, *i.e.*, Colton, Rusland, Satterthwaite, Nibthwaite, Haverthwaite, and further north at Outgate and Knipe Fold.

WALKER (432).—Evidently an occupation name like Turner. A walker and a walk-mill are respectively a fuller and a fulling-mill. The name is widely spread, but they have left their name at Walker Ground, near Hawkshead.

WATERSON, WATTERSON (113), or with Watters and Wattson, which may be contractions of the same (125). Waterson is the first stage in the process of contraction from Walter's son to Watson, and the stock seems peculiar to Hawkshead, three out of four Wills in the Richmond Calendar belonging to the parish. Though not very prolific, we find Waterson Ground, near Outgate.

WILSON(E), WILLSON(E), WILLSONN(E) (283).—From William. A common name both in Westmorland and Furness. In Hawkshead, at Colton, Rusland, Oxenfell, Fieldhead, Skelwith, etc. The family of this name, who have been for several generations at High Wray, came, about 1728, from Langdale.

With these should perhaps be classed Blümer, which has fifty-six entries in the register, and these being early in the volume, it appears that the family became extinct. The name is always spelled with the mark of contraction over it, Blümer, but it is most probably an occupation name, *i.e.*,

bloomer, or a worker of iron blooms in the bloomery forges. It seems commonest in the south part of the parish, where we know these works were.

But there is a very interesting series of surnames in the register, of an entirely different origin to those given. They are Godmunt or Godmunte, Mozer or Moser, Phemcke, Puthpker, Pughpker or Poughpker, Raylesley or Relsle, and perhaps Russell. These are names brought into the lakes, in the sixteenth century, by the German copper-mining colonies at Keswick and Coniston. The names got curiously mauled, and altered locally, as the register shows.*

In concluding this chapter, we must ask the reader to excuse the continuous use of the words "perhaps," "probably," and "possibly," in those pages which treat of place-names; but in the present state of the study they are certainly unavoidable. Below we give a list of works which cover dialect and place-names locally, and to the opinions of the various writers we have liberally helped ourselves. To Mr. W. G. Collingwood, however, who knows Iceland well personally, and has especially studied the comparative forms of place-names, we are particularly indebted: and he has most kindly read over and made suggestions for the pages which treat on place-names. Nevertheless, the reader must understand that the "shots" at derivations, for which the present writer is responsible, are fairly numerous.

DIALECT.

1. DICKINSON, W.—"Glossary of Words and Phrases pertaining to Dialect of Cumberland," English Dialect Society, 1878. A new edition by Dr. Prevost, of Gloucester, is now being prepared.

* Among the less common Christian names in the first register book we find Abraham, Ambrose, Balthazar (Pughpker), Barnard, Bartle and Bartholemew, Cornelius, Ferdinando, Gawen, Hopkin, Huan, Jenkin, Jephthah, Jeremiah, Johnathan, Joell, Josuah, Lament, Nathan, Oswald, Renald, Sander, and Theophilus. Amongst the women, Barbary, Bathsheba, Christibel, Deborah, Dinah, Ealse, Emmas, Emmott, Gebaye, Gilliane, Judeth, Luck, Magdalen, Naameh, Obedience, Prudence, Rachel, Radagunga, Rebecca, Rosamond, Tomalin, Towsy, and Zuriall.

2. ELLWOOD, REV. T.—“Lakeland and Iceland,” Dialect Society, 1895.
3. FERGUSON, ROBERT. “The Dialect of Cumberland,” 1873.
4. GIBSON, A. C.—“The Folk Speech of Cumberland,” 1880.
5. MORRIS, J. P.—“A Glossary of Words and Phrases of Furness,” 1869.
6. PEACOCK, R. B.—“A Glossary of the Dialect of the Hundred of Lonsdale,” Philological Society (ed. Atkinson), 1869;
and the dialect poets Stagg, Sanderson, Lonsdale, Anderson, Rayson,
and Richardson.

PLACE NAMES.

1. BARBER, DR. HENRY.—“Furness and Cartmel Notes,” 1894.
2. COLLINGWOOD, W. G.—“Thorstein of the Mere,” 1895. “Some Manx Names in Cumbria” (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, XIII.). “The Vikings in Lakeland,” Viking Club, 1896.
3. ELLWOOD, REV. T.—“The Landnama Book of Iceland, etc.,” 1894.
4. FERGUSON, ROBERT.—“The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland,” 1856.
5. MOORE, A. W.—“Surnames and Place Names in Man,” 1890.
6. SULLIVAN, J.—“Cumberland and Westmorland, Ancient and Modern,” 1857.

CHAPTER VIII.

BIOGRAPHIES.

THOSE whose biographies we give in brief in the following pages may be grouped as follows:—

- (1) Persons born in the ancient parish;
- (2) Persons descended from local families, but not necessarily intimately connected in life with the parish.
- (3) Persons who have settled in the parish or have been closely connected with it some portion of their lives, but not of local birth.*

For all necessary purposes, however, the first two of these may be amalgamated under the head of representatives of High Furness families; and it is worth while to notice that among these a very large proportion owe their reputations (whether great or small) to one or other form of brain work; while those whom we know as men of action only, or from their commercial enterprise, are comparatively few. We find, in fact, that literature, science and art, law and divinity, claim fifteen individuals; the army two, and commerce but four. Detailed they are as follows:—

Literature and Archæology—T. A. Beck, Christopher Rawlinson, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Richard Rawlinson, D.D., Thomas Rawlinson (b. 1681), Sir Edwin Sandys, George Sandys 7
Divinity—Archbishop Sandys, Dr. George Walker 2

* Each biography is marked with a number showing the class the subject falls into, 1, 2, or 3.

<i>Science</i> —Adam Walker, Isaac and William Swainson,					
Michael Taylor	...	...	...	...	4
<i>Law</i> —Sir William Rawlinson					
	...	...	...	...	1
<i>Art</i> —W. H. Overend					
	...	...	...	...	1
<i>Military</i> —Nathaniel Nicholson, William Rawlinson					
(b. 1606)	...	...	...	...	2
<i>Mercantile</i> —Christopher Nicholson, Daniel Rawlinson, Sir Thomas Rawlinson (2, both Lord Mayors)					
					4*

In the other class, settlers, or, as better expressed by the local word, “offcomes,” we find:—

<i>Literature</i> —A. C. Gibson, W. J. Linton and Mrs.					
Linton, John Romney, Elizabeth Smith, and					
William Wordsworth	...	...	...	...	6
<i>Art</i> —W. J. Linton (also in Literature).					

And it should be noticed that were we to break through our rule of not treating of the living generation, both these classes would be expanded by the addition of the names of John Ruskin,† Arthur Severn, W. G. Collingwood, and L. J. Hilliard.

The result of this tabulation is curious. In the local class we find hard thinkers, but no sentimentalists. We have two men who studied local history, but there is no single example of a local-sprung man known for his appreciation of beautiful and romantic nature so specially characteristic of the land he rose from. The men of Furness cared nought for all this, and made their mark elsewhere and by other means. On the other hand the settler class is chiefly sentimental—poets, artists, and painters, attracted by fair and romantic country; they sought, in fact, their inspiration here; but no two classes could well be further apart.

* Politics might be given as a class, but it would overlap the others. In it would be Sir H. C. Rawlinson, Sir Edwin Sandys, and William Lord Sandys. The first-named comes also in the military group.

† Since Professor Ruskin has in his later days fixed his home at Brantwood (purchased in 1871 from Linton), he will rightly be esteemed among future generations among the greatest of the “worthies” of our old parish; for it must be remembered that his influence in teaching what is right and beautiful, what we should do and see, has been as marked locally as it has been world-wide. Monk Coniston has, indeed, by its beauties attracted *literati* for many years. Tennyson in 1848 spent his honeymoon at Tent Lodge, and Brantwood itself has been occupied at intervals by Gerald Massey, and Dr. Kitchin, Dean of Durham.

We have laid under contribution a number of works in writing these biographies. "The Dictionary of National Biography," Foster's "Lancashire Pedigrees," Stockdale's "Annals of Cartmel," Baines' "Lancashire," and the tercentenary pamphlet of Hawkshead School, have all been consulted and collated for the Sandys and Rawlinson families; Mr. Collingwood's reprint of "Fly Fishing," for John Beever; a paper on the "Poets and Poetry of Cumberland," by the Rev. T. Ellwood, and other works, for A. C. Gibson; while for varied information we have been indebted to Rawnsley's "Literary Associations of the English Lakes," Jopling's "Furness and Cartmel," Tweddell's "Furness Past and Present," "Tait's Magazine," Green's "Guide to the Lakes," "Troutbeck, its Scenery and Archæology," and Richard Braithwaite's "Remains after Death;" and for special information we are indebted to Mr. Wm. Alcock-Beck, of Esthwaite Lodge; Mr. George Browne, of Troutbeck; Mr. J. W. Ford; the late Capt A. L. Swainson, R.E.; and to Mr. J. B. Rawlinson, of Low Graythwaite, for access to his family papers.

In the following biographies the references to epitaphs are to the numbers in the author's "Monumental Inscriptions of Hawkshead" (Kendal, 1892).

- ³² BECK.—THOMAS ALCOCK BECK, the author of "*Annales Furnesienses*," was born 31st May, 1795, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, being the son of James Beck, of the Grove, near Hawkshead, and grandson of James Beck, of Burton in Westmorland (d. 1798), by his wife (a Northumberland lady), Jane Alcock. This James Beck lived first at Sawrey House, but his son James, father to the subject of this notice, moved to a property on the edge of Esthwaite, called "The Grove," though its old name was "New House in Hawkshead field," and at Hawkshead he organized a reed band, which, in his day, had a considerable reputation. Thomas Alcock Beck was educated at Hawkshead school and by private tutors, and seven years after his father's death in 1812, having become, owing to a spinal complaint, partly

crippled, he began to build the modern house called Esthwaite Lodge, the grounds of which were specially laid out with easy gradients for his invalid chair. Here he gave up nearly all his time to "*Annales Furnesienses : History and Antiquities of Furness Abbey*," a work of infinite research and labour, though, of course, not quite abreast with the knowledge we now possess of the structure and economy of monastic establishments. The production of this work was very sumptuous, with fine engravings by Le Keux, Willmore, Carter, and others. It appeared in 1844, at the price of seven guineas, with a limited issue of 250 copies ; but by a review we have before us, it appears that £2,000 was expended on the engravings and letterpress only. The loss on the edition must have been considerable, for after the author's death a "remainder" was sold at terms under which the purchaser was enabled to retail copies at 3½ guineas. Mr. Beck also made collections for histories of Cartmel parish and Lancashire North of the Sands, which were never published ; and he was also an active governor of Hawkshead grammar school. He died 24th April, 1846, and, though married, he left no family ; and his property, including a library of two thousand volumes, at Esthwaite, afterwards passed to the present owner, William Alcock Beck, J.P. (Epitaphs 10, 11, and 12.)

- 3 BEEVER.—Mr. JOHN BEEVER was born in 1795, being the son of Mr. William Beever, merchant, in Manchester, who settled at The Thwaite, in Monk Coniston. The son is known as the author of "*Practical Fly Fishing*," published in 1849, and reprinted in 1893 by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, with a memoir and notes. The little work is held in considerable esteem by fly fishers, for, as the author of his memoir notes, he was a diligent and affectionate observer, as well as a sportsman and fisherman. Behind The Thwaite he formed an artificial pond, which he stocked for the purpose of estimating the speed of fish-growth, and with the help of a local

joiner he made a printing press, at which more than one little book, written by his sister, Susanna, was printed. Mr. Beever died on January 10th, 1859, and was buried at Hawkshead. (Epitaph 13.)

- 3 GIBSON.—ALEXANDER CRAIG GIBSON, F.S.A., M.R.C.S., L.S.A., and L.M. (Edin.), writer in local dialects both in verse and prose, merits a longer notice than we can afford space for here. He was born at Whitehaven on March 17, 1813, the son of a shipowner who commanded his own ship, while his mother, whose name was Craig, was a Dumfriesshire woman. Young Gibson spent his earlier years, it is believed, near his mother's home, and having served his apprenticeship to a Whitehaven surgeon, he studied in Edinburgh and then commenced to practise in West Cumberland. In 1844* he settled at Yewdale Bridge, just on the margin of our parish, and five years later married a Miss Bowman, of Lamplugh. Although he was Medical Officer to the Coniston Mines, in 1851† he removed his practice and home to Hawkshead, where, however, he only remained to 1857, when, finding the work too heavy for him, he removed again to Bebington, in Cheshire, where he became the Honorary Curator of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, and remained, with brief intervals of travel, until the time of his death in 1874. Mr. Gibson's first book, "The Old Man, or Ravings and Ramblings round Coniston," was written and published when he lived at Yewdale Bridge. This little book, which is quite a literary curiosity, taken with his "Folk Speech of Cumberland," affords an excellent clue to Gibson's talents and nature. The first is a collection of essays on the country, its features, people, and places of interest, which display not only acute observation but

* 1843 in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

† 1849 in the same, but a farewell presentation was made to him in 1851, as Mr. Ellwood notes.

a peculiar sense of the ridiculous and of satire. It is distinctly eccentric, yet clever. There is nothing of the guide-book about it, and its interest arises from the perfect familiarity the writer had with his district, coupled with the thorough grasp he possessed of the character of the dalesfolk amongst whom he practised. The other volume of dialect stories and poems evinces the last fact even more strikingly, but it also shows the author as a singularly facile verse writer in his own line. Every verse he wrote in the Fell dialect, tuneful, bright, and often really witty, smacks of the fells. There is nothing artificial about them. The action and thought is the action and thought of the real people. Of this volume Carlyle wrote to the author a characteristic and flattering letter. Gibson was also author of a series of papers on Hawkshead, Coniston, and other local subjects, which were printed in the transactions of his society, and the titles of which we append below. To these articles the present writer has had on more than one occasion to refer, for they recorded for the first time much interesting matter which hitherto had been unnoticed. Moreover, their pleasant and popular treatment does not detract from their value, for generally speaking the facts and conclusions are accurate and well digested, whereas the local traditions in his "Old Man" appear often more fiction than fact. Though evidently not a profound thinker he was eminently versatile, and had he and T. A. Beck chosen to collaborate upon a history of the parish they would no doubt have effectually forestalled the present volume.

Mr. Gibson's local publications are:—

"The Old Man, or Ravings and Ramblings round Coniston" (1849), published first in the "Kendal Mercury" and then revised as above.

"Folk Speech of Cumberland and some Districts Adjoining." Three editions, 1869, 1872, 1880.

Papers in the "Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society"—

- 1857. Vol. IX., "The Last Popular Risings in the Lake Country."
- 1861. Vol. XIII., "Popular Rhymes and Proverbs (Cumberland)."
- 1863. Vol. XV., "Popular Rhymes and Proverbs (Cumberland)," second series.
- 1865. Vol. XVII., "Hawkshead Church, Town, and School."
- 1866. Vol. XVIII., "Hawkshead Parish."
- 1867. Vol. XIX., "The Two Conistons."
- 1868. Vol. XX., "Yewdale, Tilberthwaite, Coniston, and Seathwaite."

The article in Vol. XVII. was reprinted in the "North Lonsdale Magazine" for 1867. He also contributed the section on "The Geology of the Lake Country" to Miss Martineau's "Guide to the Lake District."

The reader will find some interesting matter on Gibson in "The Poets and Poetry of Cumberland," by the Rev. T. Ellwood,* to which the present writer is indebted for some of the facts above given.

3 LINTON.—MR. W. J. LINTON, "poet, printer, wood engraver, chartist, and republican," as Rawnsley has styled him, lived at Brantwood from about 1855 to 1871, when he sold it to Professor Ruskin. It was not long after the collapse of Chartism, when Linton, who had come to Brantwood, plastered its walls with revolutionary mottoes. This, no doubt, was a simple matter, for he had his printing press in an out-building, from which he produced his periodical, "The Republic." As a wood engraver his works are of great merit, Rossetti judging him the best exponent of the art of his time.

Linton's talented wife, Mrs. Lynn Lynton, daughter of Vicar Lynn, of Crosthwaite, and granddaughter on

* Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science, Vol. IX., pp. 154-163.

her mother's side of Bishop Goodenough, had an even briefer connection with our parish. Her works are too well known and her death too recent to necessitate a long notice here; "Christopher Kirkland" and "Lizzie Lorton" have, however, a special local interest, and at Brantwood she wrote "The Lake Country" (published 1864) and some of her works of fiction. Linton himself died in America on January 4th, 1898, aged 85, and his wife on the 16th of July, the same year, in London, aged 76.

THE NICHOLSONS.—There were five generations of Nicholson, of Hawkshead Hall, beginning with Rowland Nicholson (son of John), who was one of the original jury on the Elizabethan Code of Customs. One branch of the family remained as landowners at Hawkshead, while another settled as merchants at Newcastle-on-Tyne. The Hawkshead line ended with a female heir, Beatrix, who married three times, the estate passing to the issue of her second marriage, John Copley. She died in 1726.

(?)² ALLAN NICHOLSON, the second of the name at Hawkshead Hall, died in 1616. Richard Braithwaite, in his "Remains after death," published in 1618, wrote thus of him:—

"Upon the late decease of his much-lamented friend and kinsman, Allen Nicholson, a zealous and industrious member both in church and common-weale:—

"Hauxide laments thy Death, Grasmyre not so,
Wishing Thou hadst been dead ten yeares agoe;
For then her market had no so been done,
But had suruiu'd thy age in time to come:
And well may Hauxide grieue at thy Departure,
Since shee receiu'd from thee her ancient charter,
Which Grasmyre sues (since Thou art turn'd to grasse)
To bring about, & now hath brought to passe.
This much for Thee: nor would I have thee know it,
For thy pure zeale could nere endure a Poet;
Yet for the Loue I bore thee, and that Blood
Which twixt us both by Native course hath flow'd:
This will I say, and may; for sure I am
'The North nere bred sincerer Purer man.'

The allusions in this epitaph are somewhat obscure. We do not know that any blood relationship existed between Nicholson and the author of "*Drunken Barnaby*"; but a niece of the former, Eleanor, married Braithwaite's cousin's son, William Braithwaite, of Ambleside; and possibly there was some relationship through the Bindloss family, though it was very distant. The two allusions to the market and charter we can only explain by the supposition that Nicholson co-operated with Adam Sandys in obtaining it from James I. But it is difficult to see why it is called "ancient," unless merely to fill up the line. It looks also as if the grant of a market at Hawkshead caused jealousy at Grasmere, which appears to have been competing as a fell-side wool centre. Outspoken as Braithwaite was, the epitaph is high testimony to Nicholson's character.*

^{1 2} NATHANIEL NICHOLSON, of Hawkshead Hall, eldest son of the last, was an officer in the Civil wars on the Parliamentary side; though whether he took an active part is unknown. There is a genealogical puzzle in this generation about the marriages between the Nicholsons and Gilpins of Kentmere Hall, but we have no room to discuss it here. The connection, however, resulted in a claim on the part of the Nicholsons to Kentmere Hall, and Nathaniel partly resided there, as he appears as a "disclaimer" at the Westmorland visitation of 1666. The Philipsons, however, also claimed the estate, and after protracted litigation, they got it. Nathaniel Nicholson was also one of the Lancashire gentlemen who compounded for knighthood at Lancaster, in 1631-2, by payment of a fine of £10. He died about 1672.

^{1 2} CHRISTOPHER NICHOLSON, his brother, was alderman and merchant of Newcastle, Sheriff of Newcastle, 1648, and Governor of the Merchant Adventurers Company, 1648-

* It is worth note that "*Drunken Barnaby*" only mentions Hawkshead once:—"Donec Hauxide spectro sensim;" "Thence to Hauxide's marish pasture;" when he visited it as a horse-dealer. The fact is, that as a near relative of the Ambleside Hall Braithwaites, he did not care in his capacity as "*Drunken Barnaby*" to be associated closely with a place familiar to his family.

1670; born 1602, died 1670. Epitaph at St. Nicholas' Church, Newcastle. (Brand's "History of Newcastle.")

A full account of the Nicholsons, with a pedigree and details of the Kentmere law suit, is included in the author's paper on "Hawkshead Hall," in the "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society."

² OVEREND.—MR. W. H. OVEREND, the marine artist, and painter of naval subjects, was grandson on his mother's side of Braithwaite Hodgson, of Green End, Colthouse, through whom he was descended from the Braithwaites, of the Briers, Satterhow, and Harrowslack (see p. 248). Born 1851, and educated at Charterhouse, he soon became connected with *The Illustrated London News* and other papers; but he also exhibited several times at the Academy. The United States Government commissioned him also to paint Admiral Farragut at the battle of Mobile Bay, which has been engraved. Mr. Overend was a member of the Institute of Painters in Oil, but was known rather from his black and white work, and from his scholarly rendering of naval scenes, both ancient and modern. Few landsmen had greater technical knowledge of marine detail, a fact which was acknowledged by all sailors who studied his work. He died on March 18th, 1898, in London, just seven days after his last drawing, "Gun Drill on a Man-of-war," had appeared in *The Illustrated London News*. Mr. Overend frequently spent his holidays at Hawkshead, up till close to his death.

² THE RAWLINSONS.—CHRISTOPHER RAWLINSON, of Carke Hall, Greenhead in Colton, and Mireside, was the son of Curwen Rawlinson, of Carke, by his wife Elizabeth, niece of General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and great-great-grandson of William Rawlinson, of Greenhead, who died 1603. Christopher Rawlinson was born 13th June, 1677, and became gentleman commoner of Queen's College, Oxford. His tastes were literary and antiquarian, and being a student

of Anglo-Saxon, he published in 1698, Alfred's Saxon version of "*Bæthius de Consolatione Philosophiæ*." Besides this, he formed a large collection of topographical MSS. concerning Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire, but dying without heirs his estate descended through his aunts to the Riggess of Wood Broughton, who were originally of Keenground. The greater part of his MSS. were then sold by auction at Carke, for a few pence a bundle,* to the villagers. By will Christopher, Duke of Albemarle, left Rawlinson his estates should he survive the Duchess, whom, however, he predeceased by one month. He died in London 8th Jan., 1732-3. There is a monument to him at St. Alban's Abbey Church, and several portraits, two of which have been engraved by Nutting, and another (1701) by Smith, after Grace.

^{1 2} DANIEL RAWLINSON, citizen and wine merchant,† of London, was son of Thomas of Grisedale, who was descended from John Rawlinson, of Greenhead.‡ He was baptized at Hawkshead, and the baptism is chronicled in the register thus:—

1614. "January viijth Daniell Rawlinson fil: Tho:"

To Hawkshead he was, after Archbishop Sandys, the most important benefactor, for in 1669 he founded the school library, at the same time making other charitable gifts to the poor and the school, and he also repaired

* Sir Daniel Fleming is said to have made extracts from the Westmorland MSS., and it is said that these extracts are preserved at Rydal (Hodgson, "*Topographical Description of Westmorland*," p. 240; Burn and Nicholson, p. iv.), but the truth is more probably that Rawlinson incorporated in his MSS. the accounts written by Sir Daniel, of Cumberland and Westmorland in 1671. Rawlinson was really a generation later than Sir Daniel. The MS. of the latter on Westmorland is the Rawlinson MS. 436 in the Bodleian, and has been printed by the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society.

† In the "*Dictionary of National Biography*," under Sir Thomas (d. 1705), it is stated that this Daniel kept the Mitre, in Fenchurch Street, and also owned the Grisedale property.

‡ In Foster's "*Lancashire Pedigrees*," Thomas, father of Daniel, is made the son of a John Rawlinson, of Grisedale; but Mr. Geo. Browne, of Troutbeck, some years ago sent the writer extracts of family wills, which were strong evidence that he was eldest son of a Robert Rawlinson, of Grisedale, whose W.D. 1606, and was buried at Hawkshead 1608.

and re-edified the school itself in 1675, putting up an inscribed memorial stone to the founder, which we mention elsewhere. He was in London a personal friend of Pepys, the diarist, and after his death the large mural monument which we have mentioned on page 36 and 168, was erected. This monument, with that of his son, Sir Thomas (Lord Mayor, 1706), were, upon the removal of the city church in 1878, transferred by the united efforts of Mrs. Rawlinson, then of Graythwaite, and of Mr. Jno. W. Ford, of Chase Park, Enfield, to their present position in Hawkshead Church. He died 1679. (Epitaph 122.)

- ² SIR HENRY CRESWICKE RAWLINSON was descended from the eldest son of Captain William Rawlinson, the Parliamentary captain (whom see), who turned Quaker and founded a line of merchants near Lancaster. This distinguished man's career is of too recent date and too widely severed from Hawkshead to allow us to linger over it here. He was born in 1810, and it is difficult to say if his services to Assyriology, philology, or Oriental politics have contributed the most to his reputation. The decipherer of the Behistun inscription, Assyrian excavator explorer, envoy to Persia, geographer, M.P., writer, hunter, soldier, shooter, and rider, he stands as a striking type of robust and intellectual English manhood. Hawkshead may certainly feel pride that a family nourished from infancy in the glades of Colton turned out in the nineteenth century such a man. His services were acknowledged by a K.C.B. and a baronetcy, and his death took place in 1895. In 1898 his biography appeared, written by his brother, Canon Rawlinson, also well known as scholar and Orientalist.

- ² RICHARD RAWLINSON, a younger son of Sir Thomas (Lord Mayor, 1706), and grandson of Daniel, was, like his brother Thomas, eccentric almost to madness. He was born 3rd January, 1689-90, and partly educated at Eton and St. John's, Oxford; he was LL.D., F.R.S., and one

of the founders of the Society of Antiquaries, 1727. Non-juring bishop, consecrated 1728; and governor of Bridewell, Bethlehem, and St. Bartholomew's Hospitals. Richard Rawlinson, on the death of his brother, went to live at London House, Aldersgate, a house, as we shall see, already stocked to repletion with literary treasures. Nevertheless, he himself kept on collecting books, charters, coins, MSS., and every sort of literary curiosity. His brother's collection being sold in 1734, gave him, no doubt, full scope to follow his inclinations. He died in 1755, and was buried at St. Giles', Oxford,* with, it is said, the head of Counsellor Layer, who had been executed for felony, in his hand. The eccentricity of some of his bequests makes this credible. His MSS. and some other collections he left to the Bodleian†, and to St. John's College he bequeathed his heart and a considerable estate. He also founded an Anglo-Saxon professorship: and the sale of his books and prints lasted for no less than sixty-eight days. Amongst the numerous works he wrote or edited was "The English Topographer," 1720, which was published anonymously; and other topographical works.

In 1887 the present writer had a search made among the Rawlinson MSS. at Oxford for a plan of Grisedale Hall, said to exist there; and, although it could not be found, it was noticed that his letters originally addressed "To the Right Reverend," had in many cases had these words *torn away*.

- ² SIR THOMAS RAWLINSON (Lord Mayor of London, 1706) was the son of Daniel, of whom we have given an account. He was citizen and wine merchant, and was born in the parish of St. Dionis, 1647. Sheriff of London, 1687; master of Vintners' Company, 1687 and 1696; knighted, 1686; appointed colonel of trained bands July, 1690, and colonel of White Regiment, 1705: and governor of

* At Islington, according to Foster's "Lancashire Pedigrees."

† Catalogues of these MSS. are now (1898) being printed by the Clarendon Press.

Bridewell and Bethlehem Hospitals, 1705. During his mayoralty he repaired the Guildhall, and an inscription was placed on the porch to commemorate the fact. Sir Thomas married Mary, daughter of Richard Taylor, of Turnham Green, who was also a vintner, and kept the celebrated "Devil" tavern next to Temple Bar, and over against St. Dunstan's in Fleet Street. The tavern sign was the Devil having his nose tweaked by good St. Dunstan. Ben Jonson has immortalized the house by writing the club rules, which, engraved in marble, are still preserved at Child's Bank, which occupies the site. Sir Thomas died in 1708, and was buried in St. Dionis Backchurch, and a still larger marble monument than that of Daniel was erected to him and others of his family, and this also now occupies a place in Hawkshead Church. The inscription we have printed elsewhere, but its opening sentence will bear repetition:—"Juxta Columnam, cui adhaeret Avorum, monumentum requiescit par magna Gentes Rawlinsonianæ, viz., Thomas Rawlinson, ab Antiqua & Honesta Stirpe apud Brigantes ortus: Virtute sua illustris: Principi suo Jacobo II^o R.O.M., fidelis." (Epitaph 124.)

² SIR THOMAS RAWLINSON, a grandson of the last, was Lord Mayor of London 1753. He was Sheriff of London and Middlesex, 1748; knighted, 1760; colonel of trained bands and vice-president of Hon. Artillery Company, 1766; alderman of Broad Street, 1746; and died at Fenchurch Street, 1769. This gentleman purchased the estate of Stowlangtoft in Suffolk.

² THOMAS RAWLINSON, eldest son of Sir Thomas (Lord Mayor, 1706) and brother of Dr. Richard Rawlinson, was born 1681 at Old Bailey. He was educated at Eton and St. John's College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar 1705. He also travelled in the Low countries. As a collector his passion was similar to that of his brother, and seems to have amounted to something akin to insanity. These accumulations were commenced at Gray's Inn, where, for

want of space, he slept in a passage. In 1716 he went to London House (afterwards re-stocked by his brother), and this large building he simply crammed with MSS., Elzevirs, Aldines, Caxtons, and literary treasures. He is believed to be the original of Addison's "Tom Folio," "a learned idiot—an universal scholar, so far as the title pages of all authors." He managed, however, to find time to be governor of several hospitals, and was elected F.R.S. and F.S.A.; but he showed his eccentricity by marrying his maid, formerly a coffee-house waitress. A large portion of his library was sold before his death, which took place in 1725; yet in 1734 the remainder was divided into sixteen parts, each of which took from fifteen to thirty days in dispersing. This was the largest book sale up to that date.*

- ² THOMAS RAWLINSON, son of William, of Graythwaite, and great grandson of Captain William Rawlinson, was born 1689. The only title this Rawlinson has to a place here is as inventor of the Highland kilt, for which, in its modern form, he seems responsible. No doubt owing to his knowledge of the family bloomerics at Force Forge, he became the manager of the ironworks at Glengarry, which were worked by a Liverpool Company, with Highland workmen. The latter, it appears, dressed in the uncouth sort of night-gowns common to semi-barbarous folk, which, if they retained them, impeded their work, while those who threw them off shocked the delicacy of Rawlinson, who was of Quaker birth. With the aid of a London tailor he devised the separation of the garment into an upper and a lower part, the last being plaited and fastened round the waist, becoming the Highland *felie* or kilt. Rawlinson, it is said, wore it first, then the chief of Glengarry, and slowly making its way against prejudice, it became fashionable over the Highlands.

* According to a paper on the Rawlinsons, recently read before the Bibliographical Society, the sixteen sales were held between 1721 and 1724.

The authorities for the story are, (1) a letter from Ivan Baillie, Esquire, of Abereachan, in the *Edinburgh Magazine* of 1785, where the invention is said to have taken place about fifty years before; (2) a letter said to exist on the subject from Rawlinson to the Lord Advocate, 24th May, 1728. Some details also will be found in a paper by Rev. A. Hume on "British Antiquities," Vol. VIII. (new series) of Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society, the author quoting there Pinkerton's *Essays*, *Ulster Journal*, Vol. VI., p. 316; also Foster's "Lancashire Pedigrees," and in "Notes on the Ancient Iron Industry of Scotland," by W. Ivison Macadam, printed in the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland."

- ^{1 2} SIR WILLIAM RAWLINSON, Sergeant-at-law, son of Captain William Rawlinson, born at Graythwaite and baptized at Hawkshead—

1640, "June xvjth William Rawlinson, fil Willm̃", was called to the bar in 1667. He became a Chancery lawyer, and was Commissioner of the Great Seal from 1688-1692. The king proposed to raise him to Chief Baron of the Exchequer, but this was opposed with success by John Somers (afterwards Baron Evesham) who had been made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Sir William Rawlinson died in 1703, and was buried at Hendon, where there is a monumental effigy to his memory.

- ^{1 2} CAPTAIN WILLIAM RAWLINSON, son of Thomas Rawlinson, of Graythwaite, is known as an active officer on the Parliamentary side in the Civil wars. He was born in 1606 and baptized at Hawkshead.

"Januarie xixth Wm. Rawlinson fil: Thomas" * and is known as having raised, in Furness, a troop of seventy horse. He was also, by an order of 1647, appointed collector of a moiety of the £60,000 which was levied by the Parliamentary commissioners. At the Restoration, information was filed against him by the

* Foster gives March 2nd as the day of his birth.

Attorney General, for the part he had taken in the troubles: but this, owing chiefly to the intervention of his kinsman, Robert Rawlinson, of Carke Hall, the Royalist, fell through. This Captain Rawlinson we have mentioned elsewhere as opening up the iron-smelting at Force Forge, for which purpose he lived partly at Rusland Hall, which was also tenanted by other Rawlinsons after him. He died in 1680 and was buried in the parish church.

"September 10: Mr. W^m. Rawlinson, of Graythwaite in the Chancell."

His sword and huge pistol-holsters are still at Graythwaite, in the possession of Mr. J. B. Rawlinson: but the pistols themselves are at Duddon Hall.

The following documents about Rawlinson's services were transcribed by the writer from the originals kindly lent him by Mr. J. B. Rawlinson. Several of them have, however, been already printed in Tweddell and Richardson's "Furness, Past and Present"; but from a few slight variations it seems probable that other copies exist among the Rawlinson papers. At any rate they well merit a place here.

(a) The accompt of Captaine Willm Rawlinson Captⁿ of a troope of voluntiers, consistinge of 70 horse raised w^{thout} being Chardge to the State about the 2th of Octobr 1643 being from thenceforth kept in readines for the service of the King & Parliament onely in actuall service these tymes followinge

ffirst When Baronett Curwen wth share of Cumb^rlands fforces advanced into Millom being on the bord^{rs} of Lanc we were then commanded to Kirkby and lay there 4 dayes till they retreated

2 About the 1th of Januarie on Saturday we were comanded to Lanc^r when it was noised that Sr Jo. Girlington, and Sr W^m Bradshaw being then in Yorkeshire were upon the march towards Lanc^r wth force of and staid ther till Wednesday.

- 3 Three dayes attendance at Braythay bridge beinge a passage upon the bord^{rs} of Westm^rland, when Sr — Lowthr, wth Cumb^rlands fforces marchd that way to Kendall
- 4 When we were comanded to Manchestr the xvijth of May 1644 Prince Rupert being broken into the County and retreated to Lanc and the service to Yorke till the xxixth of Septembr followinge
- 5 Our service upon severall Alarms as when Collonell Gray toke Kendall and upon seuerall ord^{rs} f om Coll Alexand^r Rigby we went ou^r sands when report was fforces cominge to Chest^r to raise the siedege & seuerall oth^r Alarms to the numbr of 22 dayes or therabouts
- 6 When the lord Digbye marched towards Scotland & retreated backe on service and conducting the prison^{rs} to Lanc that tyme xij dayes

(b) The accompt and arreare due from the State to Captaine Willm Rollinson for his service as Capt of a Troope of horse in the Regim^t of Colonell George Doddinge Cast upp and accordinge to ordnance of Parliam^t By the Comr for the Countie of Lanc^r.

ffor his service as Captaine of a Troope of horse in the Regim^t of Coll George Doddinge as aforesaid from the 20th of Octobr 1643 untill the 13th of March 1645 being 873 daies at 0039^s ? p diem untill 18th Aprill 1645 36^s untill 13th March 1645

£	s.	d.
1633	00	00

Out of w^{ch} to bee deducted

ffor money recd from the said Collonell Doddinge in Westm^rland and Lanc^r

13	06	08
----	----	----

ffor ffree quarter accordinge to ordnance of Parliam^t

541	04	04
-----	----	----

In all

554	11	00
-----	----	----

Residue

1,078	09	00
-------	----	----

We the com^{rs} for the countie of Lanc^r
doe hereby certify that this accompt
of Capt Willm Rollinson is justly
allowed by us all deducons beinge
made accordinge to ordnance of
Parliam^t And there remains ... 1,078 09 00

Signed by us Ric. Shuttleworthe
John Starkie
Robt. Cunliffe

(c) 73 horse and a half charged on Fornes and Cartmell

Kirkby constablewicke	4 horse
Dun ^r dale & Seathat	3
Ul ^r uston wholl Townshipp	15
Penington	02
Aldingham townshipp	05
Urswicke Townshipp	04
Leece Townshipp	03
Dalton pish	09
hauxhead constablewicke	06
Colton constablewicke	04 & a halfe
Broughton in Cartmell	07 & a halfe
holker Townshipp	06
Alithwt Townshipp	04 & a halfe

Tho: ffell

19 October 1648.

(d) It is ordered, that you cause the sevall Troupps und^r yo^r
comand to deliuer back againe the horses into the Kendall
Townshippe from whence they had them that they may be
hereafter had when their shal be occasion for the safety of the
Country; and that you cause the Money that was assessed for
their pay to be collected and paid to the soldiers for the tyme
they have serued Giuen und^r o^r hands at Uluston the day and
yeare aboues^d

George Dodding

To Captain Will^m Rawlinson these. Tho. Ffell.

(e) These are to certifie all it whom it may concerne That Captaine
William Rawlinson of Graythw^t in the County of Lanc^r gentl

Comanded a troope, of Horse for the service of the parliam^t for the space of fyve yeares last past And was in the ffield service at Marston Moore Battaile And did very good service at Ribble Bridge in Lanc^r And tooke Maio^r Munday and his company in ffurneis, And hath done seuerall other faithfull & honest service for the parliam^t Att all such tyme or tymes as he had any opportunitie to advance the said service.

Will Knipe	Tho. ffell
Adam Sandys	Tho. Rippon
Nathaniell Nicholson	John Sawrey
Tho. Wither	Wm. West
Will ^m Gardn ^r	Tho. Hunter
James Thornton	Will ^m Waller
	Tho. Westmore
	James Bacchus
	Tho. Toller.

Feb. 14th, 1648.

vera copia.

“Maio^r Munday” afterwards was executed at Lancaster. Among the names will be observed Nathaniel Nicholson, also a Captain in the Parliamentary forces.

There are, besides these, a quantity of miscellaneous papers of the same period, for which we have no room here. Among them we may note a certificate, dated 1651, of which the signature has unfortunately gone, notifying that Sir George Middleton, of Leighton (a Royalist), having duly paid his composition, must be allowed to go free from all annoyance. There is also a long and most interesting letter from Jane, wife of Sir Thomas Strickland, to her brother-in-law, suggesting various ways for him to raise sufficient money to compound for his estate. There are numerous notices and receipts for the collections of the assessments for Fairfax's army in Cartmel and Furness: and there is an order dated 22nd May, 1655, by the commissioners for removing obstructions in the sale of the lands and estates of a delinquent, and commanding the appearance of various tenants of lands in Bolton and Adgarley, parcel of the estate of the late Earl of Derby, which had been sold to William Rawlinson, elder and younger, and for which tenants refused payment of rents and fines.

1 2 RIGGE.—GEORGE RIGGE merits, we think, a few lines in this chapter. He occupied, for long, the humble position of parish clerk at Hawkshead. He began to keep the register in 1640, and, there is reason to think, was appointed the official lay register in 1656. He continued registering till at least 1697.* By his will, made in 1706, this faithful old servant of the church closed his useful, if uneventful, life by a bequest of £126 for the use of the poor of the parish.† Such a sum, for a person in his position, is a large one; and we think George Rigge deserves well the rank of a Hawkshead worthy.

3 ROMNEYS.—Whitestock Hall, in Colton, was formerly Whitestock How, and this estate was bought by the Romneys about 1800, in the lifetime of the painter, and probably by himself.

The painter, however, never lived here. The present house was built immediately after his death (1802) by the Reverend John Romney, his only surviving son, and here, on his marriage in 1806, he resided, while his mother, the painter's widow, lived at Whitestock Cottage, close by, until her death in 1823.

John Romney, the son (b. 1758), was Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1785, and B.A. and M.A. In 1830 he published the memoir of his father, and died 1832. One daughter married John Job Rawlinson, of Graythwaite; and various studies, by the painter, and other heirlooms, remained with the surviving daughter, Elizabeth, until her death, and were dispersed the year after (1894), at Christie's.

1 ? 2 THE SANDYS FAMILY.—EDWIN SANDYS, Archbishop of York, so often mentioned in these pages, was the third son of William Sandys, Receiver-General for the Liberties of Furness, whose tomb, erected by the Archbishop, lies in the "little quire" of Hawkshead Church. It is believed he was

* "Oldest Register Book of Hawkshead," p. lxii.

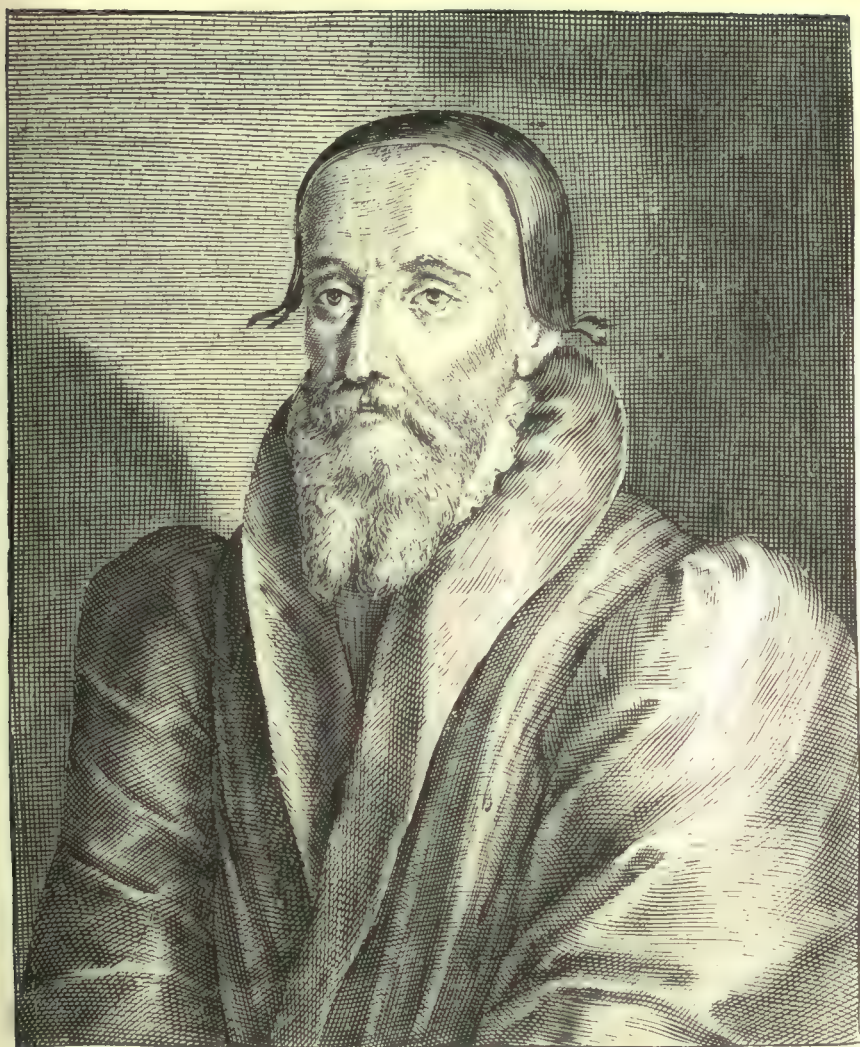
† See Appendix under Charities.

born at Esthwaite Hall, in 1519,* and that he received his education at Furness Abbey; and for a story that some writers give, that he was educated at an Abbey School at Hawkshead, there seems no foundation. Subsequently, he went to St. John's College, Cambridge, taking B.A. 1539, M.A. 1541, B.D. 1542, and D.D. 1549. In 1548, on the death of his father, he was rector of Haversham, in Bucks.; in 1547, Master of St. Catherine's Hall; and in consequence of his zealous sermons in favour of Church Reform, in 1549 he was appointed Canon of Peterborough, followed, in 1552, by the same post at Carlisle; and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, 1553.

After the death of Edward the Sixth, he advocated, in a powerful sermon, the succession of Lady Jane Grey, acting, it is said, under the instigation of the Duke of Northumberland. This action, however, brought him to the Tower, where he was confined for thirty-two weeks: when he was removed to the Marshalsea prison, where though well treated, he had to spend a further nine weeks. On gaining his liberty, he found it necessary, owing to the persecution of the Bishop of Winchester, who, it is said, intended to bring him to the stake as a heretic, to fly the country, which he managed to do, going first to Strasburg, and afterwards to Zurich, whence in 1558 he returned, on Queen Mary's death, in answer to a summons from Elizabeth.

His first wife (a lady of his own name) having died abroad, he married again this year a daughter of Sir Thomas Willford. In 1559 he was appointed Commissioner for the Revision of the Liturgy, and one of the Lent preachers in 1558-9 and 1561. The last-named year, he also took part as a Commissioner to make an Ecclesiastical Visitation; and in 1559, after refusing the see of Carlisle, he became Bishop of Worcester.

* 1516 in the "Dictionary of National Biography," but all other authorities give 1519.



EDWINVS SANDVS ARCHIEP̃S
Amplectens causam meliorem vt captus ab hoste est
SANDVS VS p̃sūl denique sit populi

AB



From 1563, when Sir John Bourne, having attacked him, was committed to the Marshalsea, we continually find Sandys in some sort of dispute. However, in 1565, he was one of the translators of the "Bishops' Bible," a work for which his scholarship well qualified him; and in 1570, he followed Grindal to the See of London. The translation of the 1572 Bible owed to him, Hosea, Joel, and Amos to Malachi inclusive. He took part in repressing the "mass-mongers," at the house of the Portuguese Ambassador; and in 1575 was chief mourner at Archbishop Parker's funeral at Lambeth.

At last, on March 8th, 1575, he was translated to York, in succession again to Grindal; and after this, his tendency to fall out with everyone seemed to increase. We find him disputing with Aylmer as to the revenues of the See of London, taxing Whittingham, the "Puritan Dean" of Durham, with not being properly ordained, and quarrelling with the Dean of York. Lastly, a difference with Sir Robert Stapleton got him into a very ugly position. Stapleton, wishful of getting lands from him on an easy lease, by a disgraceful plot introduced a woman into the Archbishop's bedroom in an inn at Doncaster. The innkeeper, the husband of the woman, who was in the scheme, then rushed into the room, and a tableau ensued. Sandys, horrified at the position, weakly paid blackmail, but when Stapleton began to push his extortions beyond bounds he brought the matter to the Star Chamber, where his name was thoroughly cleared.

Sandys' quarrels and Papist hunts no doubt made him unpopular everywhere, but he was nevertheless a thoroughly honest and very able prelate. His doctrines were elevated, though puritanical to fanaticism. He even objected to the sign of the cross at baptism. With greater tact and less fondness for dispute he might have ranked among the very highest of our prelates.

He died in 1588, and was buried at Southwell Minster, where there is a monument and inscription. The former is engraved in Rastall's "History of Southwell,"* and the latter is given in Strype's "Life of Whitgift." His portrait is at Ombersley, and another belongs to the Bishop of London, and there are copies both at Graythwaite and Hawkshead School. There are several engravings, one of which we reproduce. These portraits show a dignified and handsome face with flowing beard and ample brow.

How Sandys loved and worked for the parish of Hawkshead, his old home and that of his family, will be read in other parts of this volume. The foundation of it as an independent parish, the consecration of Colton Chapel, the foundation of the Grammar School, and part rebuilding of the church, are all due to him. He was Hawkshead's most conspicuous worthy, and those who think of our little town only as a Wordsworth shrine, should remember that while it was only an incident in a poet's youth, it was three hundred years ago the loving care of a great divine.

- ² Sir EDWIN SANDYS, the second son of the Archbishop, was in his day statesman, writer, and an active worker in the earlier history of colonial expansion. Born in 1561, he was educated at the Merchant Taylors' School and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, B.A., M.A., and B.C.L. 1589. He first entered the church, but gave up a prebend of York and entered Parliament 1586. In 1593 he undertook with George Cranmer a continental journey, the result of which was a work entitled "*Europæ Speculum*, or a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western Parts of the World," which, though aimed at Popery generally, was written with considerable moderation. The story is, that it was first printed from a stolen copy of his MS. in 1605,

* Also in Dickinson's "Antiquities Historical, Architectural, etc., and Itinerary in Nottinghamshire" (1807).

and that the edition was burned in pursuance with an order obtained by the author. Several subsequent editions and translations, however, appeared.

In 1599 he again turned to politics, but we have not space for enumerating the measures he supported here. He was an active worker on the committee of the East India Company, and also a member of the Somers Island Company after 1615, the "Sandys tribe" on that island being named from him. He was likewise member of Council of the Virginia Company, the history of which from 1617 to 1624 contains a mass of matter relating to his conduct as treasurer and of the disputes between the Sandys and Warwick parties. He was knighted 1603, M.P. for Sandwich 1620, and died at Northbourne Court, Kent, his home, in 1629. An engraving of him from a portrait at Hanley is in Nash's "Worcester."

- ² GEORGE SANDYS, poet and traveller, born 1577, the seventh son of the Archbishop, matriculated at Oxford (St. Mary Hall) 1589. In 1610 he made a long journey through Italy, and in Turkey, Egypt, and the Holy Land. The result of this was a book, "A relation of a journey begun An. Dom. 1610. Foure books containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Ægypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remote parts of Italy, and the Islands adjoyning," which gave him a well-merited reputation as a traveller of observation.* At a later date he took part in colonial enterprise as owner of shares, and holder of posts in the Bermuda and Virginia Companies.

His poetry, produced mostly at Boxley Abbey, near Maidstone, was in his time highly thought of. His works include "Paraphrases of the Scriptures" (1635-

* Original edition in 1615, but editions or reprints followed in 1621, 1627, 1637, 1652, 1670, and 1673 ("Dictionary of National Biography"). The writer's copy has two title pages, one sixth edition, 1670, and the other seventh edition, 1673. The book is enriched with many maps and engravings, and the author, being familiar with many places visited by Sandys, can testify to the keenness and accuracy of his observation.

1648), "Psalms," the "Song of Solomon," and the "Metamorphoses of Ovid," the last being considered his best work. He died 1643, at Boxley, where the Parish Register alludes to him as "Poetarum Anglorum sui sæculi facile princeps." His portrait is at Ombersley, the seat of the Marquis of Downshire, who is descended from an elder brother. An engraving by Raddon appeared in 1823, of which the writer has two impressions. They show a man under middle age, with long and wavy hair, and pointed moustache and beard. The features, which are singularly like his father's, are in expression mild and sweet.

Those who would know more of the various members of this family who have made their mark must turn to the huge pedigree in Foster's "Lancashire Families." From Sir Samuel Sandys, the Archbishop's eldest son, descended the Sandys family of Ombersley, the first baron being William, Lord Sandys, M.P. for Worcester, Speaker, and Smollett's "motion maker." The connection of the other Sandys family, "Sandys of the Vyne," who were ennobled, does not seem to be at all certain, though alluded to by Strype and incorporated in Forster's pedigree.

² SMITH.—ELIZABETH SMITH was the second child and eldest daughter of Captain Smith, a son being Charles Felix Smith, the distinguished Commanding Officer of the Royal Engineers. She was born at Burnhall, Co. Durham, in 1776: but the family, through losses by a bank failure, were compelled to leave, and Captain Smith, after joining and leaving the army, then decided to settle in the Lakes. They first went to Patterdale, but in 1801 they migrated to Townson Ground in Monk Coniston, now known, for reasons we shall mention, by the name of Tent Cottage.

"Bessy" Smith, as she was familiarly called, was a genius, and, with the opportunities she had, a most remarkable linguist. De Quincey, in *Tail's Magazine*, wrote thus of her:—

"It appears that she made herself mistress of French, the Italian, the Spanish, the Latin, the German, the Greek, and the Hebrew languages. She had no inconsiderable knowledge of the Syriac, the Arabic, and the Persic. She was a good mathematician and algebraist. She was a very expert musician. She drew from nature, and had an accurate knowledge of perspective."

All these, except French, were self-taught; and by her death, all, as well as Greek and Latin, were fairly mastered. She began her studies young; for by 1785 she had made good progress in music. In 1793 she could read Spanish well, and at the end of 1794 she had commenced Persian and Arabic. Latin she began in November, 1794, and by the following February she had read Cæsar's commentaries and Cicero. Two years later she was translating Genesis from the Hebrew, and by 1799 she could read with ease the Testament in Syriac.

This was a pretty good record of mental work, but her character and disposition seem to have been as amiable as her brain was versatile. But, owing to a chill contracted by reading near the lake in summer, consumption set in, and she died 7th August, 1806, only 29 years of age.

Some of the writings she left, were published 1808-1814. They consisted of philological collections in Welsh, Chinese, Icelandic, and African languages. Verses, graceful, but of no great merit, and translations—that of Job being highly commended by Dr. Magee and other competent judges.

Opposite the cottage the Smiths tenanted, across the road, a tent had been erected by the family, either as a view place, or, as De Quincey seems to hint, as a shelter for the dying Bessy. Anyhow, the story is that in her decline she suggested that this should be the site of their long-talked-of new house. Her wishes were observed, and the new house was called Tent

Lodge, while their old home has curiously changed its name of Townson Ground to Tent Cottage. Wilkinson, the Yanwath yeoman poet, and a friend of the family, laid out the grounds of the new house after poor Bessy's death. In Hawkshead Church a simple marble slab records her name: though, as De Quincey has said, the inscription is both "unsatisfactory and commonplace."

"In memory of Elizabeth, eldest daughter of George Smith of Coniston, Esq^r. She died August 7th, 1806, aged 29. She possessed great talents, exalted virtues, and humble piety."

- ^{1 2} SWAINSON.—ISAAC SWAINSON, M.D. and botanist, was the son of John Swainson, yeoman of High House (d. 1750), by his second wife Lidia Park, and grandson of Christopher Swainson (d. 1722), who married, 1692, Agnes, daughter and eventually heiress of Henry Sawrey of High House.

Born in 1746 he made his way young to London to seek his fortune: and, after serving as assistant to a Dr. Mercier, he acquired possession of a patent medicine called "Velno's Vegetable Syrup," which became afterwards well-known, and was extravagantly puffed in Bannantine's collection of squibs called "New Joe Miller" (1800-1801). By this he, no doubt, made money, but he studied medicine also in an orthodox way, taking his M.D. in 1785. He was, however, best known as a learned and indefatigable botanist, especially in medical botany, and at Heath Lodge, Twickenham (an old river-side seat of the Lords Ferrers, which he rebuilt and lived in), he laid out extensive botanical gardens, which became well known. He formed a collection of over fifty folio volumes of rare botanical plates; and at Twickenham and Frith Street, Soho (his London house), he collected a library of six thousand volumes, containing many fine botanical works, and rare editions of plays, poems, and squibs. He also made a small, but choice collection of paintings by



ISAAC SWAINSON

Portrait of Isaac Swainson

11

Geo. Morland, James Ward, Northcote, and others. Isaac Swainson appears to have had curious ideas of politics and religion. Among his friends were enumerated the Bishop of Llandaff, George Morland, "Anthony Pasquin" (John Williams), an American satirist and democrat, denominated by Lord Macaulay a "malignant and filthy baboon," Bannantine, the editor of "New Joe Miller," and champion of Colonel Despard, who was executed for treason, and also John Bellamy, the wine merchant, appointed "housekeeper" to the house of Commons, because his cellars being under the old houses of Parliament, it was necessary to keep on good terms with him.* Probably these social eccentricities were due to a second-rate education, for his tastes were eminently scientific. Although he never published anything, he left several classified botanical indices in MS.

Swainson died 7th March, 1812, and was buried at Twickenham, where there is a long inscription to him and other members of the family. He was married, but had no family. The High House property passed, by the marriage of Mary, daughter of his half-brother James Swainson, to the writer's great-grandfather, Thomas Cowper. High House, called about 1800 the Castle, was re-built in 1859 by James Swainson Cowper-Essex, and the botanical collections, and portions of the library and some of the paintings are still preserved here.

His portrait, painted by J. R. Smith, was engraved in 1805 by Scriven. (See illustration.)

- ² WILLIAM SWAINSON, F.L.S., F.R.S., the eminent naturalist, was born Oct. 8th, 1789, being the son of John Timothy Swainson, Collector of Customs at Liverpool and Lord of the Manor of Hoylake, and great-grandson of Henry Swainson, of High House, younger son of Christopher, who died in 1722. He was first placed in the Custom House Service, but caring little for the

* The Yeomen of the Guard, after searching the vaults at the opening of Parliament, always went to Bellamy's cellars to drink the King's health,

work he was appointed to the establishment of Commissary-General Wood, and served in that department of the British army in the Mediterranean from 1807 to 1815. During his period of service he found much time to follow his tastes for Zoology, both in Sicily, North and South Italy, and even during a visit on leave in Greece. In 1815, however, having attained the rank of Assistant Commissary-General on the staff of the Mediterranean Army, he was compelled by ill-health to return to England. He then left the service, and having been elected Fellow of the Linnean Society he went in 1816 to Pernambuco, and after a delay caused by the rebellion of 1817 he travelled to Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, being part of the time with Langsdorff, the traveller. On his return to England with enormous zoological collections, he was elected (1820) F.R.S. at the recommendation of Sir Joseph Banks. He now began writing on natural history subjects, utilizing, we believe for the first time, lithography for zoological plates. He took up his residence in London, and after producing his "Exotic Conchology" and "Zoological Illustrations" he applied unsuccessfully for a vacant post in the British Museum. He married in 1823, and on the death of his father soon after, he settled down to literary work. He first of all undertook an "Encyclopædia of Zoology" for Longman, Orme, Browne & Co., but this afterwards appeared as the various zoological volumes of "Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia," the editor entrusting the whole of that section to his hands. He then settled at Tittenhanger Green, and for the next fifteen years his output of natural history literature was very large. In 1835 his wife died, and he himself having suffered large monetary losses through the failure of Mexican mines, at last determined to emigrate to New Zealand, which he did in 1837. His literary work came to an end, and it is said that much of his collections were lost on the voyage. He married a second

time, was made J.P. in New Zealand, and died at Wellington Dec. 6th, 1865. His books, published between 1808 and 1847, number about twenty-five, and some of them, like his "Zoological Illustrations" (three vols., 1820-23), still command high prices. Eleven volumes alone he contributed to "Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia." ¹ As might be expected, such enormous literary energy on such a wide field brought on him some rough criticism from specialist naturalists. Waterton in 1837 fell very foul of him in an "Ornithological Letter to Wm. Swainson, Esq., F.R.S.," and became abusive to a degree in his "Essays on Natural History," where he styled Swainson a "wholesale dealer in closet zoology." In a private letter he also asserted that *except Audubon* no one had done so much harm to science as Swainson—altogether not a bad compliment to Swainson's attainments.

There is an excellent portrait of him in his last work, "Taxidermy, with the Biography of Zoologists, London, 1840," which also contains an autobiography and list of his publications, which, however, is not complete.

^{1 2} TAYLOR.—MICHAEL TAYLOR. Bouth was the native place of the late Mr. Michael Taylor, the celebrated calculator for the Board of Longitude, who has perpetuated his name in the mathematical world by his correct and comprehensive tables of logarithms, signs, tangents, etc.—"Green's Guide to the Lakes," I., p. 127.

¹ WALKER.—DR. GEORGE WALKER, a celebrated Puritan divine and benefactor of the clergy, was born, as Fuller tells us, at Hawkshead. His age when he died in 1651 is given as 70, which would put his birth in the year 1581. Probably, however, the following entry in the Parish Register refers to him:—

* Thirty-six scientific papers are also enumerated in the Royal Society's Catalogue, viii., 893; see also particulars in "Gentleman's Magazine," 1856, 532-3; "Proc. Linnean Society," 1855-6, p. 49; "Dictionary of National Biography."

Baptisms 1582 "Oct vij George Walker fil: Edward." We know nothing further of his family ; or, indeed, little beyond what is given by Fuller, whose biography we quote in full below. About 1650, by the "Survey of Church Lands" (Lambeth Library), we find that he then allowed the minister of Hawkshead twenty pounds a year ; "of which the parishioners have not any assurance nor know whether their said Benefactor will settle the same upon the church." At that time there was no residence for the incumbent ; but Walker about that date gave the present vicarage, which was then called Walker Ground, and was probably the old home of his family ; though the name is now attached to the residence of Mr. W. Lane, J.P., just alongside it.*

We may add in addition to the interesting details given by Fuller, that the date of his appointment to St. John the Evangelist was 1614, and that he is supposed to have been schooled at the Grammar School. He published several sermons and controversial tracts : and in 1635 was prosecuted by Laud in the Star Chamber, with the result of fine and imprisonment, as Fuller states. He was noted for his controversies with the Papists, especially with one named Smith or Norris, and as colleague with Dr. Featley against Fisher. In 1643 he was chosen one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and during the Commonwealth preached several times before Parliament. On his death he was buried in his own church.

"George Walker was born at *Hauxhead* in *Fournifells*, of Religious Parents. Being visited when a child with the Small-poxe, and the standers-by expecting his dissolution, he started up out of a Trance with this ejaculation, *Lord, take me not away till I have shewed forth Thy praises*, which made his Parents devote him to the Ministry after his recovery.

* Both houses are old, however, and it is not easy to say which is the original Walker Ground.

"He was bred B.D. in *St. John's Colledge*, in *Cambridge*, where he attained to be well skilled in the Oriental Tongues, an excellent Logician and Divine. Mr. *Foster* (formerly his Tutor) resigned unto him his living of *St. John the Evangelist, London*, wherein Mr. Walker continued the painful Preacher well-nigh forty years, refusing higher preferment often proffered him. Dr. *Felton* (the same morning he was elected Bishop of Ely) made him his Chaplain, and Dr. *Featly* chose him his second in one of his Disputations against *Father Fisher*, yea Mr. *Walker* alone, had many encounters with the subtillest of the Jesuitical party.

"He was a man of an holy life, humble heart, and bountiful hand, who deserved well of *Sion Colledge* Library, and by his example and perswasion advanced about a Thousand pounds towards the maintenance of preaching Ministers in this his Native County. He ever wrote all his Sermons, though making no other use of his Notes in the Pulpit, than keeping them in his pocket, being wont to say that he thought he should be out if he had them not about him. His Sermons, since printed, against the prophanation of the Sabbath and other practises and opinions, procured him much trouble and two years' Imprisonment, till he was released by the Parliament. He dyed in the seventy year of his age, Anno Dom., 1651."—"Fuller's Worthies," 1662.

- ² ADAM WALKER, the philosophical lecturer, belongs to a Hawkshead stock, being grandson of Adam Walker, and great grandson of Myles, of Hawkshead Church Stile, whose name is found in 1664 in the Hawkshead register. Adam, the grandfather, migrated across Windermere, and settled at the Crosses in Appletwhaite, and his marriage is found in the Windermere register in 1690. The subject of the present notice was born at Troutbeck Bridge in 1732, probably at the farm called the Crosses, where his father was engaged in a small way in the woollen manufacture. As a lad he showed his

mechanical bent by making model mills on a beck near his home; and his propensity for mental work, by building himself a hut for Sunday study in the woods. At fifteen he became usher to a Yorkshire school, and after four years, assistant master at a school at Macclesfield. Here he attempted to embark in trade, which proved a failure, but some lectures on astronomy proved so successful that he established a school himself. His lectures had, however, attracted much attention, so that in 1778, by the recommendation of Dr. Priestley, after giving up his school, he opened the Haymarket Theatre for public lectures; and, after that date, his reputation advanced fast, and he was frequently invited to lecture at the great public schools.

Adam Walker's inventions and writings are numerous. Among the former were engines for raising water; methods of pumping out ships; wind and steam carriages; a harpsichord; a planetarium or orrery, which he called "Eidouranion"; the revolving lights on the Scilly Islands; a boat to work against stream; a complicated instrument to gauge rain, wind, and moisture of air, combined with a clock and barometer; a road mill; and a variety of other things.

He wrote upon "Familiar Philosophy" (1799); on curing smoky chimneys; causes and effects of bad air; remarks on a tour in the Lakes (1791); use of the globes; his continental travels; and numerous papers and verse in periodical magazines. He died February 11th, 1821. Notices appeared in the "Gentleman's Magazine," Rose's "Biographical Dictionary," "Bibliotheca Britannica," and Michaud's "Bibliographie Universelle." A portrait of him, by Drummond, was published in 1792 by J. Sewell, and shows a plainly-dressed man with strongly marked features, penetrating eyes, a determined mouth, and very high forehead.

One of his sons, William Walker (b. 1766, d. 1816), inherited his talent for lecturing, for the "Monthly

Magazine" mentions him at the age of sixteen lecturing on Natural Philosophy, and explaining the "Eidouranion." He also drew up an "Epitome of Astronomy" (1798), and is alluded to by the "Gentleman's Magazine" in high terms as a lecturer, and as possessing considerable knowledge of modern languages and the classics.

Adam Walker, the ex-champion wrestler, represents a collateral branch of the same family.

3 WORDSWORTH.—WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. Properly speaking William Wordsworth has no title to a place in this chapter. He was neither born in the parish, descended from a local family, nor resident within the parish during that period of his life when his writings had made him a name. Yet it cannot be denied that his connection with the town as a school-lad has made the name of our little market town familiar in a thousand homes, where, but for him, it would never have been heard. There is little doubt that the beauties of Hawkshead valley had much to do in forming the impressionable and plastic mind of the young poet. The nine years he spent (1778-1786) before college among lakes and brawling becks, were well calculated to foster that intense sensibility towards the beautiful in nature, which among commonplace surroundings would, at any rate, have been stunted and ill-developed. How the lad loved the country we know well from the "Prelude"; but it must be remembered that this retrospective poem was composed long after he had left school.* What he tells us of his general life there, is of great interest, for we learn not only something of the lad himself, but a great deal generally of school-boy life over a century ago. His skating excursions, woodcock snaring, and raven nesting expeditions show the-school lad; while his long early morning rambles, and his dreamy reveries by lake and on fell side display the sentimental part of his nature.

* The "Prelude" was begun in 1799 and completed in 1805.

But, taking into consideration the interval between his school-boyhood and the writing of the "Prelude," we feel that attempts to explain and identify every scene and action in the latter are hardly logical. The poet cast in sounding verse the general impressions which still lingered with him of his happy youth; but is it not an impression only? The writer never meant, we believe, that his descriptive pieces should be analyzed, and that the time and place where this was done, and that was thought of, should be marked off in an almanack or laid down on the Ordnance sheet; and our own intimate acquaintance with the topography of Hawkshead and its surroundings convinces us that the "Prelude" should be looked on as a poem only.

It is not, of course, only to the "Prelude" to which we turn for mention of Hawkshead. "Matthew," "The Two April Mornings," and "The Fountain" contain many allusions; and "A Memorial Ode" and "Lines left upon a seat on a Yew Tree" were composed, at any rate, partly when he was at school; while his "Conclusion of a poem composed in anticipation of leaving school," written at sixteen, is probably to us Hawkshead folk as interesting as anything he wrote. It is too well known to need quoting. There are also "The Hawkshead Brook," and "Address to the scholars of the village school of ——" (1798). Wordsworth, as far as the dead languages go, is believed to have been an idle boy at Hawkshead; but he devoured the old English classics. He cut his name in the orthodox school-boy way in the Grammar schoolroom, and this, Dame Tyson's pretty cottage, and Flag Street, form the three points of visitation for the Wordsworth pilgrim. Sometimes one especially enthusiastic will make his way down to Waterside to identify the yew tree, and does so perhaps to his own satisfaction, for, although the real tree was destroyed by Mr. Braithwaite Hodgson, of Green End, in Wordsworth's lifetime, another stands not far from the site,

and has been called by the name of, and we believe is pointed out as, "Wordsworth's Yew."

With this we must bring to a close our list of worthies; for it is manifestly neither advisable nor possible to trace out persons who have descended in a less direct way from an ancestor in the parish. There may be thousands such, but one or two names which occur to us may be mentioned here. John Gough, the blind philosopher, was on his mother's side descended from the Wilsons, of High Wray. The late Birket Foster, the landscape painter, showed a descent through the Birketts of Cartmel Fell to the Sandys family. John Bright was descended by his mother's family the Woods, from Michael Satterthwaite, of the Crag in Colthouse; and George Foster Braithwaite, the veteran angler and author of "*Salmonidæ of Westmorland*," belonged to a family of Braithwaites, which, though for long at Kendal, came originally from High Wray.*

* *The Times* obituary column of November 5th, 1898, chronicles the death of Mr. George Montague Buck, classical schoolmaster of the City of London School. Mr. Buck was a grandson of George Black, the nonagenarian farmer, whose portrait appears on page 195 of this work. Mr. Buck was a Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, 1893, Craven Scholar 1892, and Senior Chancellor's Medallist for Classics 1893. He died on 2nd November.

CHAPTER IX.

PARISH BOOKS AND ACCOUNTS.

PARISH ACCOUNT BOOKS AND PAPERS.

UNDER this head, even at the risk of being tedious, we propose to give some extracts of the older parochial books, other than the register, which still exist.

The earliest register book itself is in print, and we do not despair of one day seeing the eighteenth century register also in the hands of the public. With this in view we shall not, therefore, notice the later register here, but will confine ourselves to the other MS. material (chiefly accounts), which, although containing much local matter of interest, has naturally a great deal of repetition, so that to print it *in extenso* seems hardly desirable. We shall, therefore, take the two volumes of accounts first, and go through them, giving such entries as elucidate their character, or are otherwise of value. We adopt this method of consecutive description in preference to giving a more popular account of the general contents, because, by doing so, the ensuing pages can be used as a sort of index to the volumes themselves.

A word about the handwriting of the accounts. Allowing for the variation of pens and ink, we are not able to point to any place where a new hand takes up the work between 1720 and 1782. The writing following the first-mentioned year is a careful round hand. About 1737 it becomes freer and bolder, but equally legible; and about 1750 it assumes a settled, but somewhat less bold, character, in which, however, we fail to recognize any change of hand, until

about 1773 a certain tremulousness appears, which is evidently characteristic of old age. This rapidly becomes accentuated, till in 1781 every line is evidently traced with difficulty, and after 1782-3 it is replaced by a flowing and totally different writing.

From 1745 to this date the hand is undoubtedly that of John Hodgson, the clerk who was appointed in 1744 and died in 1785. We can trace him in the register: for in the second volume we find, at the end, two notes inserted:—

“John Hodgson entered Parish Clerk Hawkshead on Wednesday y^e 28th of March, 1744.”

The other note runs:—

John Hodgson Parish Clerk was a Shoemaker Geo. Pennington Parish Clerk was a Shoemaker Jno. Rooks Parish Clerk was a Shoemaker Samuel Green Shoemaker entered Parish Clerk on Tuesday the 19th Day of Augt 1819:” and Hodgson’s death is chronicled, 1785 (Burials), “John Hodgson of Hawkshead Parish Clerk dyed Jan. 16 and was buried Jan. 18th in the church y^d aged 76 years. He was Parish Clerk upwards of 40 years.”

There is no marked break or change in the writing in 1744-5, as we have said, and though there are minor changes in character, we cannot point to any given point where a new hand takes it up prior to this date. In 1721 Hodgson was only twelve years of age, and the writing has no appearance of being a mere lad’s. It is possible that the accounts were, however, kept on loose paper and first entered about 1726, in which case Hodgson may possibly have been the scribe, although he was not to be clerk till nearly twenty years later.*

The ordinary accounts of the churchwardens and overseers from 1720 to 1771 (excepting the year 1768), are in the volume we call Vol. No. I. Year 1768, and from 1772 to 1797 are in Vol. No. II., which contains also other matter. The following are extracts from these accounts:—

* It is evident that the accounts were copied from the originals into the volume, because the signatures of the persons who passed the accounts yearly are in the same writing as the accounts themselves.

ACCOUNT BOOK, VOL. NO. I. (and part of No. II.).

Vol. I. is bound in calf. On the inside of the binding:—

“Memd that Mr. W^m. Bank of Bank ground in Conistone gave the Church Bible & Co^mon Prayer Book to Hawkshead Church in the year 1713 Liveing then in Cony Street in York Whitesmith” and below this, “This Account Book was repaired in the Old Binding in June 1894, by us,

EDWARD W. OAK, Vicar,
H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

A BOOKE MADE FOR THE USE OF
THE CHURCH OF HAUXHEAD,
ANNO DOMINI, 1696.

Then follows some of the recipients of local charities in 1717 and 1718. These charities we shall treat of elsewhere.

“Augt y^e 8th 1718

Mem: y^t y^e day aboves^d Chuthbert Hodgson has undertaken & it is agreed wth him that from henceforth he Repair y^e roof of y^e Church steeple & y^t he keep y^e s^d steeple dropp dry for term of his life for w^{ch} the parish is to pay him four shillings every yeare”

Hitherto the accounts have been very meagre, but from 1720 they begin to be kept in full detail, both by wardens, overseers, and surveyors.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCT., 1720.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.
Eight burials, 3s 4d p peice	1	6	8
Hugh Cowperthw ^t : a poor Bill & a Quartr ...	3	11	0

Disbursements.

When we Etered into office each a Journey to			
Ulv ^r stone	0	4	0
for repairing the clock	0	1	8
for bread & wine at Whitsuntide w th a Journey...	0	16	4
for Ringing y ^e first of August	0	2	6
to James Keen for Strawing y ^e Church ...	0	5	0
for a Bell rope	0	2	6
for a clock rope	0	2	6
Expenses w ⁿ y ^e new bowl* was sent for ...	0	2	4
for a box to carry y ^e old bowl into London ...	0	1	0

* This and the following allusions to the bowls refer to the Communion Cup, which bears the hall mark 1720-1.

for Carriage of y ^e old Bowl & postage & postage	£	s.	d.
of Lett ^{rs}	0	2	6
for repairing ye Church stile on ye South side			
(also repairs to Porch and roof) ...	0	5	0
Itē for mending Curplace & Co ^m on pray ^r Book	0	1	0
Itē for Railing y ^e co ^m union Table about ...	0	10	10
Itē for a new Bowl and y ^e Carrāge	03	18	0
Itē for y ^e old Bowl Sodering	0	3	0
Itē y ^e carriage of both bowls from London ...	0	3	8
Itē expenses w ⁿ they came safe back from London	0	2	8
Itē to y ^e Aparrit ^r for bringing a form of pray ^r	0	1	6
Itē for psentmts Drawing & book of Articles...	0	5	0
Itē for Laying ye flags upon ye steeple ...	0	1	10
Itē for bread & wine at East ^r with a Journey	0	17	6
Itē commissary ffees	0	8	10
Itē Each of us a journey to Ulverstone at our			
going out		4	0
Itē to y ^e Clerk for writeing y ^e Parish concerns	10	0	

POOR ACCOUNT, 1720 (FIELDHEAD).

Itē to Eliz: Atkinson, 6d p month & 1s 6d over	0	7	0
Itē her house rent to J ^{no} Swainson	0	10	0
Itē for her peats geting	0	3	6
also for giving notice for a sale & to y ^e Cry ^r	0	0	8
To Agnes Walker one Shilling & sixpence p week	3	13	6
the same a paire of Stockins a Smock & making			
& thread		2	10oh

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1721.

Receipts.

Imp 14 burials in the Church	2	6	8
-------------------------------------	---	---	---

Disbursements.

to Clemt Rigge for peats w ⁿ y ^e leads were sod rd	0	10	
for flaggs for y ^e steeple windows & carriage ...	0	4	0
to Robt Wilson for 2 load of lime & carriage	0	4	0
to ffisher for cotrells* for y ^e litte bell ...	0	1	4
Expences on the Proclamation day	0	7	6
for ringing on that day	0	2	0
to James Keen for strawing the Church ...	0	5	6
to the Apparitor for a book concerning y ^e plague	0	1	6
for the Pew making	2	0	0
to James Keen Whissiter †	0	5	0
for mossing & pventing a drop	0	15	0

* Cotteril, a small iron wedge for securing a bolt (Halliwell).

† Perhaps an error for "whissiler." In the register we find whistlers, pipers, and fiddlers all mentioned.

	£	s.	d.
to Geo: Walker for 2 load of slate	0	2	0
for 4 stone & 3 pound of hair at 10 ^d p stone	0	3	6
for stairs to the Pulpit and a trap door ...	0	12	6

POOR ACCOUNT, 1721.

a pair of cloggs for Dorothy Sawrey	0	1	2
--	---	---	---

POOR ACCOUNT, 1722.

for a pair of Cloggs & tobacco for Agnes Benson	0	2	2
for 4 Journeys to ye sessions	0	2	8
to the Justices Clerks at my going out ...	0	1	0
for my account drawing	0	0	6

Be it Remembered that so many of us as are here present (y^e 26 Day of Decemb^r 1726) viz: of y^e 24 do freely give our consents yt y^e 10 li left to ye poor & y^e 10 li to the minister by y^e Last Will & Testa^{mt} of Geo: Banks of Bank-groung (sic) shall be let out by the Churchw^{ns} & Overseers of y^e poor of y^e Bayliffewick as y^e said Will directs with prop^r securities for the same & ord^r our names to be subscribed as followeth

Thomas Braithwt de Castle*

Myles Townson

Edw^d Scales

Rich^d Rigge

Robt Knipe

Thomas Walker

Robt Benson

W^m Satterthwt Becksides

(below in another hand)

Myles Sawrey

Will Kirkby

Rich^d Harrison

Gawen Braithwt

Robt Robinson

John Copley

pray remembr the fines then spent.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, 1723.

Disbursements.

for ringing on ye Proclamation day 5th of			
Novemb ^r and Christmas Eve	0	12	0
for whiping ye Dogs	0	5	0
for iron work to ye great bell	0	4	0
for leather to ye great bell tongue	0	1	0
for a pig of lead to ye clock	0	18	0

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, 1724.

Disbursements.

a new lock & key to ye church door	0	5	0
for ringing on ye 3 ffestival Days	0	12	0
to Habakkuk for work	0	0	2

* This was the farm called Castle in Sawrey, not Castle *alias* High House, in Hawkshead and Fieldhead.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, 1725.

Disbursements.

£ s. d.

(Reginald Grigg) for stones and trailing* 0 7 6

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, 1728.

Disbursements.

Bread and wine at Easter 0 19 0

2 loads of lime and carriage 0 4 2

a spade 0 1 9

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, 1729.

Disbursements.

fflagging the midle Alley† 0 11 6

for the fflaggs 1 15 9

fflagging the church porch 0 2 0

a new clock string 0 2 6

Poor Account 1729 is headed:—

The Acct of Will Benson ov^rser of y^e poor 1729 for his
estate at Hawksh^d field.

to John Woodburn bastard 8d a week 36 and

for clothes for him 6s 1 10 0

POOR ACCOUNT, CONISTONE AND SKELLETH, 1729.

four yards of harden at 10d. per yard 0 3 4

POOR ACCOUNT, CLAIFE, 1729.

for 4 yards & 3 quart^{rs} of cloth 0 7 7½

a pair of clogs 1s 2d and an hatt 8d 0 1 10

2 pair of stockings 1s 4d 0 1 4

a pair of shooes for Scotty 0 3 4

Spent in Westmorland abt taking Eliz: Burtons
false pretend^r ‡ 0 3 0

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, 1730.

Receipts.

For 4 Burials in the Church 0 13 4

Disbursements.

Itm to Henry Swainson for flaggs and stones ... 0 1 8§

* Trailing—no doubt conveying stones by a sledge.

† It is possible that this was the first flagging of the church, but not likely.
There is no charge for strawing this year, but it is found after.

‡ There is nothing to explain this entry.

§ The Swainsons, of High House, had a flag quarry, from which the stone was in
great request. In 1724 Henry's brother, John Swainson, of High House, sent flags to
Ulverston Church See introduction to Bardsley's *Ulverston Parish Register*, p. lxxii.

	£	s.	d.
Itm to ye Parriter for Book of Articles ...	0	1	0
Itm for Two foxes killing near Graithw ^{te} 3s: 4d p peice and 2 cubs in Claiffe 1s: 8(d) p peice	0	10	0*

POOR ACCOUNT, HAWKSHEAD, 1731.

ffor Lanclot Jeffinson winding sheet	0	2	6
a shift cloth thred and makeing for Agnes Atkinson	0	2	2½
An Acct wh ^h was spent ab ^t Clarah Braithw ^t setlem ^t in Whitehāv			
Impm 2 horses to Graithw ^t	0	1	0
2 horses to Whitehaven	0	7	6
To Ad. Walker for her Entertainm ^t	0	1	6
To Jane Godfrey for ent ^t ainm ^t	0	0	6
Spent in our Journey to Whitehaven	0	13	9
an horse 3 times to Graithw ^t	0	1	6
Expenses and repairing sadles	0	1	5
expenses to Carlisle	0	11	10
for carrying her to Whitehaven	0	9	0
Ent ^t ainm ^t for man & horse at Carlisle	1	15	10
(and other lawyers expenses, filing bills, affidavits, etc.)			

POOR ACCOUNT, (MONK) CONISTON, 1731.

for coat vest and 2 pair of Breeches	0	8	5
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CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1731.

Receipts.

for 11 burials in ye church	1	16	8
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Disbursements.

to Hen Swainson for flags	0	19	0
4 Ravens killing 4d p piece	0	1	4
a fox killing	0	5	0

POOR ACCOUNT, CLAIFE, 1731.

for conducting Walmsley to Lanc ^r	1	0	0
my horse & my self 9 days	0	9	0

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, 1732.

Receev'd for burials in the Church	1	0	0
---	---	---	---

Disbursements.

the Book of Articles	0	5	0
ffor an old ffox & one cubb	0	7	6
11 raven heads	0	3	8

* This is the first mention of rewards for vermin.

POOR ACCOUNT, (MONK) CONISTON, 1732.

	£	s.	d.
for a pair of Cloggs and coking*	0	1	3

POOR ACCOUNT, CLAIFE, 1732.

for Katherine Sauls Coffin	0	4	9
her winding sheet	0	3	0
the arvall†	0	6	2
for selling her cloaths	0	0	6
for winding her	0	1	6

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1733.

Disbursements.

for 3 rowlers to ye bells	0	2	0
for 5 ravens heads	0	1	8

POOR ACCOUNT, HAWKSHEAD, 1733.

for clothes to a litle boy	0	19	3
for his boarding 11 weeks 1s 2d a week ...	0	12	10
for a quarter of Beef	0	7	0
half a bushell of meall	0	3	4

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, 1734.

Disbursements.

High rooff mossing & mending	0	6	0
for one old ffox & 3 cubbs	0	12	6
to Habbakuk for shafting a spade	0	0	8
for 4 ravens heads	0	1	4

POOR ACCOUNT, CONISTON AND SKELWITH, 1735.

for removing Mary Grave into Cumberland a journey to Cartmell & charg of a warrant & a copy on't 2 journeys to her ffathers house	0	6	6
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CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1735.

7 raven heads at 4d a piece	0	2	4
------------------------------------	---	---	---

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1736.

Receipts.

burials in ye Church	0	16	8
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Disbursements.

in exchange of a pewder dish	00	02	2
a spade shaft 8d 6 ravensheads 2s	00	02	8

* Cokers or Calkers were the irons fitted on the clog soles.

† Arvall or arval—the funeral refreshments. The Scandinavian *arval* was also the funeral feast.

POOR ACCOUNT, CLAIFE, 1736.

Expences	abt	writing letters to Sedbergh &	£	s.	d.
giving notice to 2 Scotch women to					
leave ye Parish	00	00	10

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1737.

Receipts.

for 11 burials in the Church	1	16	8
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Disbursements.

4 raven heads	0	1	4
to J ^{no} Swainson for Stones and flaggs	0	5	6

POOR ACCOUNT, HAWKSHEAD, 1738.

a worm plaist ^r 3d a new prim ^r (4½d) schooling						
20 weeks 1s 6d	0	2	1½

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1738.

Receipts.

for 9 burials in the Church	1	10	0
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Disbursements.

to J ^{no} Swainson for flags	0	4	3
for a fox killing	0	5	0
8 ravens heads	0	2	8

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1739.

by burials in ye Church	...	...	...	1	3	4
12 raven heads	...	...	...	0	4	0

POOR ACCOUNT 1739.

to ye wak ^{rs} * & drink at funerall 5s 6d, to						
winders 1s 6d	0	7	0

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1740.

Receipts.

for burials in the Church	0	16	8
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CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1741.

Receipts.

for burials in the church	00	10	00
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Disbursements.

to Leo ^d Tyson for making clock face	0	5	0
for painting the clock face	1	10	0
a form of pray ^r 1s 6d to Bibby for 2 stangs† 1s 6d	...	...	...	0	3	0
4 ravensheads	...	...	...	0	1	4
An Homily book	...	...	...	0	5	0

* Wakers, *i.e.*, those who waked or watched the corpse.† Stangs, *i.e.*, poles of some sort.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1742.

	<i>Receipts.</i>	£	s.	d.
burials (in the church)		0	16	8

Disbursemts.

to John Mouson for taking ye string of old Church cloth and seting tape abt it		0	0	8
to Thos Atkinson for mending old cloth... ..		0	0	6
Id for making ye new Church cloth		0	1	6
12 Ravensheads 4s		0	4	0

POOR ACCOUNT, 1743.

(Mary Berry) for a chaff bed, 3s 6d to ye Doctr for her childe 5s*		0	8	6
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POOR ACCOUNT, CLAIFE, 1745.

To ye Bastard five yards cloath & thread 6s 1d a pair Bodys 1s for making cloaths & stumager 10d Taylor 4d stumager one pair clogs 1s		9	3	
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CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1744.

Rec. six Burials		1	0	0
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Disburs^d.

To Rowland Ellerau for painting Little gates & porch door		0	3	6
To Henery Swainson for stone posts & other stones		0	8	2
To John Swainson for three crow heads		0	0	6
To one fox 5s one cub 2s 6d 4 ravens heads 1s 4d		0	8	10

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1745.

For six Burials		1	0	0
------------------------	--	---	---	---

Disbursmts.

To 8 raven heads 2s 8d Two Foxes 10s		0	12	8
To Tho ^s Burton for mending & dressing Clock		0	1	0
To ringing 10 th Feby ale had then 2s 6d		0	4	6
To ringing Dukes Birthday 2(s) ale then 3s ..		0	5	0
To ringing 3 ^d day April 2s ale had then 2s		0	4	0
To ale 3 festivals X ^{ms} 2s 11 th June 2s 5 Nov 2s		0	6	0
To ale given at Hanging Midle bell +		0	3	0

* First mention of a doctor noted.

† No mention of ale before these. A shilling apiece to the ringers on festivals had always been given.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1746.

	<i>Receipts.</i>	£	s.	d.
Nine Burials		1	10	0
To Geo Taylor & Jos Keen for Hanging Great Bell & Tounge		2	13	10
To Geo Taylor for mending door sneck & takeing Great Bell Tongue ought & puting in again... ..		0	1	4
Three Fox 15s nine raven heads 3s		0	18	0
To Tho ^s Burton for mending Clock & Hamer*		0	1	10
Expences at Great Bell taking down & puting up		0	10	0
Four Acts Parliamt about Horned Cattel ...		0	4	0

31^{mo} Maij 1725^o We whose names are hereto subscribed do hereby agree that if any Parish officer or officers within our Parish of Hawkeshead in the County Palatine of Lancaster do neglect his or their duty in his or their office or offices to the detrment of any of the severall divisions within the said Parish of Hawkeshead that such officer or officers so neglecting his or their duty or refuse or neglect to give his or their Accounts when lawfully summoned or if any person or persons misapply any of the Parish money he or they are to be presented at the expense of the severall divisions within the said Parish of Hawkeshead.

And it is furthur agreed by the majority of the flour and twenty within the Bayliffewick of Hawkeshead to presente William Dixon of Dixon-ground within Church Conistone in the said County of Lancaster Tanner and George Harrison of Thistone Waterhead in the said Bayliffewick of Hawkeshead Yeoman according as the law directs at our joynt expence which is to be laid by a poore rate

Myles Sandys	Robt Benson	Edward Scailes
John Copley	Robert Rolinson	Thomas Dixon
Gawen Braithwait	Hugh Addison	Tho Walker
Rich ^d Harrison	Myles Sawrey	The + mark of
George Bankes	William Braithwait	Thomas Braithwaite
		Myles Townson
		William Satterthwaite
		elder †

Wee whose Names are under written the p^{rs}^t Sidesmen or four & twenty chosen for the Parish of Hawkshead do

* See page 298.

† This document has the original signatures, and, with the one which follows, has apparently been written in the middle of the book, when a great part of it was blank. The Dixon-ground in Church Coniston must not be confounded with that in Hawkshead Parish: and we cannot explain why one of these Dixons was appointed a parish officer, unless he had also property in Monk Coniston,

hereby promise & agree to & with each other that from and after the twenty ninth day of this present Septemb^r If any of us do not appear in Hawkshead Church at the Day & Hour appointed by usuall notice on some Sunday before for our meeting there nor send a reasonable excuse for his or their absence by word or writeing to to (sic) be allowed by the majority of such the s^d four and twenty as shall then & there appear or if any of us shall absent our selves from the two usual meetings of the said Parish on the feast of St. Stephen & Tuesday in Easter week without an excuse or reason to be given & allowed as above mencon'd, then everyone of us so failing of attendance as afores^d shall and will forfeit and pay for his not appearing at such meetings for the Parish business one Shilling of the Currant coin of Great Britain towards the defraying of the expences of such of the Said four and twenty as shall at the severall appointed times appear Witness our hands the third day of September 1721

Myles Sandys	1	<i>ffor Hawksh^d Quar^{tr}</i>	
John Copley	2	John Copley	
Robert Robinsō	3	Robert Robinson †	
Hugh Addison	4	Hugh Addison †	} these six
Will ^m Braithwt	5	Clemt Rigge §	
De Bryers		W ^m Braithwt	
Gawen Braithwt	6	Edw ^d Scales	
Rich ^d Harrison	7	<i>ffor Conistone & Skelleth Q^r</i>	
George Bank	8	Gawen Braithwt	
in whose room		W ^m Macreth ¶	
W ^m Kirkby elected		Rob ^t Benson	} these six
Tho ^s Dixon	9	Rich ^d Harrison	
Miles Sawrey*	10	Miles Sawrey ||	
W ^m Braithwt fould	11	W ^m Kirkby	
W ^m Satterthwt	12		
Tho ^s Satt ^h thwt	13	<i>ffor Satterthwt & Grizedale.</i>	
W ^m Braithwt Wray	14	Myles Sandys Esq	} these six
W ^m Mackreth	15	Thomas Walker	
Robt Benson	16	Richd Riggett†	
Clemt Rigge**	17	Thos Dixon	
Tho ^s Walker	18	Myles Townson	
Robt Knipe	19	Rob ^t Knipe	

* "Miles" erased and "Anthony" inserted in a later hand, probably owing to retirement or death, as also

† Joⁿ Rigge substituted,

‡ Jno Waterson,

§ Geo Rigge,

¶ Antho Atkinson,

|| Antho for Miles.

** J^{no} substituted for Clem^t.

†† W^m Turner substituted.,

Rich ^d Rigge*	20	<i>for Claife.</i>
W ^m Braithw ^t ffoulyeat	21	Will Braithwt gent †
Edwd Scales	22	W ^m Braithwt de ffould‡
Myles Townsō	23	Thomas Braithwt de Castle
Thos ^s Braithw ^t	24	W ^m Satterthw ^t Beckside §
		W ^m Satterthw ^t Birkhow ||
		W ^m Braithw ^t Ray
		these six

The Sidesmen or four & twenty then in beinge this twenty Seventh day of 10^{br} 1736. Ellected are

Myles Sandys Esq ^r	<i>for Grysdale & Satterthwt these 6.</i>
John Copley gent	Myles Sandys Esq.
Richard Harrison gent	Thomas Walker
Gawen Braithwt gent	Thomas Dixon
W ^m Braithw ^t of ffoulyeat	Will ^m Turner
Edw ^d Scales	Robt Knipe
Jno Waterson of Wat ^r son	& Myls Townson
Ground	

these
six

Thos Walker of Dalepark *for Claiffe Quart^r*

Thos Dixon & W ^m Turner	John Braithwaite¶
both in Satterthwaite	Will ^m Braithwaite
Robt Knipe & Myles Town-	Thos Braithwaite
sōn both in Grysdale	W ^m Satterthwaite
W ^m Kirkby of thwaite	Thos ^s Satterthwaite
Antho: Sawrey of Wat ^t head	W ^m Braithwaite

these
six

Antho: Atkinson of park *for Hawkshead Quart^r*

W ^m Braithw ^t of Low Sat ^t how	John Copley gent
Adam Walker of Hawksh ^d	W ^m Braithwaite**
John Braithwt of ffould in	Edward Scales
Sawrey	Adam Walkert††
Leo Benson of Skelleth	John Watson
Geo: Rigge of Skin ^t how	Geo: Rigge

these
six

W^m Satterthwt of Beckside *for Conistone & Skeleeth Quart^r*

Thos ^s Sattr ^t ht of Green End	Rich ^d Harrison gent
W ^m Braithwt of Highwrey	Will ^m Kirkby
Thos ^s Braithw ^t de Castle	Antho: Sawrey
	Gawen Braithw ^t gent
	Antho: Atkinson††
	Leo Benson§§

these
six

* W^m Turner substituted.

† W^m Taylor *id.*

‡ Satterthwt substituted for ffould.

§ Mr John for W^m.

|| Banks Robinson substituted.

¶ Mr Taylor substituted.

** Geo for W^m.

†† Will^m Satterthwt *id.*

‡‡ & §§ lined through; and at end of the list is written—John Robinson James Benson Ent^r Easter Tuesday 1739 W^m Satterwt Reg^d Braithwt ent^rd East^t Tues 1743.

There are altogether seven lists of the twenty-four on record as far as we know. Two of these, 1694 and 1704, are printed on p. lvi.-lviii. of the present writer's edition of the register. Two others are in the volume before us, and one of these (1751) we shall arrive at in due course. The other, 1716, we give a place to here, as it is at the end of the volume unconnected with other matter.

Aprill ye 3rd 1716.

Satterw^t Division.

Mr Myles Sandys of Graithwt
 Robt Satterthwaite*
 Geo Dixon†
 W^m Knipe‡
 James Taylor
 W^m Townson§

Claife Division.

W^m Braithwt
 W^m Sawrey¶
 W^m Satterthwt
 James Braithwt
 W^m Satterthwt
 W^m Braithwt of ffold in Saw: extra

Hawkeshead Division.

Mr John Copley
 Hugh Addison
 W^m Rigge of Hawkeshead feild
 Geo Borwick||
 Robt Robinson
 W^m Mackereth**

Skelwth Division.

W^m Mackereth of Low Skelwith
 Robt Benson
 Gawen Braithwt
 Geo Banke
 Rich^d Harrison
 Myles Sawrey

Names substituted are—

* Myles Townson

† Thomas Dixon, his son.

‡ W^m Dixon.

§ Thomas Walker.

¶ Will Taylor, of Graithwt, and after, Robt Knipe.

|| Tho^s Braithwt, of Sawrey-infra: "Deceast" is added, and underneath Edw^d Scales, of ffolueyeat.

** Below this name, W^m Braithwt, of Hawkshd field.

PARISH BOOKS AND ACCOUNTS.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1747.

<i>Receipts.</i>						£	s.	d.
One Burial	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	4

Disbursements.

To 8 Books about Horned Cattel & one Book pray ^r	...	...	...	...	...	0	9	6
To one Fox 5s five ravenheads 1s 8d	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	8
To 3 Carts of Stones from John Swainsons	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	8
To ale 11th June 2s 5th Nov ^r 2s Xmas 2s	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	0
To Ringing that afternoon Admiral Warren* took ye shiping 1s 8d spent then 2s 6d	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0

POOR ACCOUNT, CONISTON & SKELWITH 1748.

To Filliating Eliz Townson Child	0	3	0
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CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNT, 1748.

Receipts.

By burials	1	3	4
To one Form of prayer and Proclamation	0	1	6
To ringing that afternoon Peace was Proclaimed†	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
To Ed ^w Walker 3 ravens heads	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0

The Sidesmen or four and twenty in being this ninth day of April 1751 Ellected are

Hawkshead Qr

John Copley gent
Geo Braithw^{te}
Ed Scales
Mr W^m Satterthw^{te}
John Watterson
Geo Rigge

For Gris : & Satterthw^{te}

Myles Sandys Esq
Myles Walker
Thos Dixon
W^m : Turner
W^m : Penny
Myles Townson

For Claif Quarter :

Mr W^m : Taylor
W^m : Braithw^{te}
Thos : Braithw^{te}
Mr : Jonⁿ : Satterthw^{te}
Banks Robinson
W^m : Braithw^{te}

* This was the victory over the French squadron by Sir Peter Warren. He died 1752.

† This was the treaty of peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, October, 1748.

For Con: & Skelwith Q:

Rich: Harrison gent

W^m: Kirkby

Anthony Sawrey

Gowen Braithw^{te}

Joⁿ Robinson

Jam: Benson

We have probably given sufficient to show the character of these accounts. Of course, numerous items are of regular yearly occurrence. Dog-whipper's fee, and the fee for strawing or strewing the church floor continue to the end of these accounts.

We have seen that burials in church occurred every year or nearly so, for each a fee of 3s. 4d. being paid. The order of 1694, which is printed in the oldest register book (p. lvi.), fixed the fee for a burial in the chancel at 6s. 8d.; but at that date there was no special fee for other parts of the church. When the fee for the latter was fixed we are not aware, but it was in force in 1720.

In our introductory chapter to the Register we have shown that from 1601 to 1704, 1,109 burials are specially recorded as having taken place in the church, giving an average of about $11\frac{1}{3}$ a year. These accounts give us similar information during the eighteenth century, and we find that from 1720-1792 (73 years) 320 intra-mural interments were made. This equals about $4\frac{2}{5}$ a year, but about ten years have no entries, and in most cases the omission is probably from careless book-keeping, not because there were none.

If, therefore, we compute the intervening fifteen years between 1704 and 1720 at five burials per year, we may add another 75 burials, which gives us a fairly approximate total of 1,404 burials between 1601 and 1792 in Hawkshead church. Before 1601 there is no record, but as the entire parish had been burying at the Parish Church for four centuries, it seems highly probable that since its erection some five to seven thousand bodies may have been laid to rest within the walls of St. Michael's Church.

After 1792 there were no burials paid for until 1797, the

reason being that in 1793 a faculty was obtained for pewing the church. When this was finished, the Vestry increased the fees for intra-mural burials, making them £5 : 5 : 0 for any part except the chancel, for which the fee was put at £10 : 10 : 0, besides the expenses necessary to moving and re-setting the pews. The accounts for 1797 contain one entry of such an interment, namely, Mr. William Braithwaite, for whose burial £5 : 5 : 0 is charged. These fees were, of course, meant to be practically prohibitory.

The records of vermin killing for rewards are not without interest, but it should be noted that neither eagles, otters, marts, nor badgers occur; foxes and ravens only. Of the former only 18 foxes and 10 cubs were paid for; but between 1730 and 1797, 421 ravens were done to death at 4d. each. This gives an average of over six ravens killed a year, but the years in which the greatest slaughter was made were 1758 (17), 1759 (16), 1769 (18), 1772 (19), 1773 (14), 1780 (24). No wonder *corvus corax* is now rare. The slaughter was going on in Wordsworth's boyhood, and in his "Description of the Scenery of the Lakes," we find, "I recollect frequently seeing, when a boy, bunches of unfledged ravens suspended in the churchyard of H(a)wkshead, for which a reward of so much a head was given to the adventurous destroyer."

In the accounts subsequent to 1751, the following are some of the more interesting entries:—

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS, 1750 To ye alteration of ye prayer for ye Royal Family 0 : 1 : 0. 1751 To alteration of form of prayer 0 : 1 : 0. 1753 To new Register Book for marriages 0 : 12 : 1 To ye marriage act* 0 : 1 : 6. 1755 To New Common prayer Book & Carriage 3 : 3 : 4. 1756 To Ed Scales for 4 H^d of Hart† Latts at 4s. p H^d 0 16 0 To John Jackson for 28 Load slate & bringing it 2 : 16 : 0 To W^m Mitchel for Free stone rigging & Bringing 0 : 2 : 10. 1757 To W^m Braithw^{te} a Bottle screw 0 : 0 : 4. 1758 To Thos Burton for mending Flaggan lid‡ 0 : 0 : 2. 1759 to

* Lord Hardwicke's Act (26 Geo. II.), which ordered proper register books to be kept.

† Query, Heart of Oak Laths?

‡ Probably the pewter flagon belonging to the communion service.

ringing 3 days at taking Gadalupe, Minden & Luebeck
 0:4:6. 1760. To ringing at the Kings proclamation *
 0:3:0. To 3 forms of prayer 1 proclamation 0:3:6
 To ale given 3 Festivals 0:2:0. 1761 To 1 Proclamation
 for fast day 0:0:6. 1762 To Ringing at his royal Highness
 Prince Geo: Birth† Ditto for taking the Havana 0:1:6.‡
 1763 To Jos Keen for ale & trouble taking Bells down
 13:0 To Isaac Holme for a pitch pipe§ plan of vestry
 7:6. 1764 To John Braithw^{te} for carrying gt Bell Penny-
 brige 5:0. To carrying gt Bell from penny bg to Connyside
 Bank 2:6 To expenses at takeing Bells down & sending
 away 2:0. 1765 To one old Fox head in Skelwith 0:6:8 20
 bushels of lime 1:0:0 To W^m Benson for Rough Casting
 steeple & mending slate 3:11:6. To Carriage of gt Bell from
 Hammerside hill to Preston 0:2:0|| To Robt Jopson for
 Turnpike 0:1:0. 1769 To one new whip for Dog whiper
 0:2:3 To Parchmt for copping regester upon 0:1:4½.
 1778 To one Form of prayer for her magesty Delivery
 0:1:0. 1784 To 16 yards of Firrit¶ at 3d. per yard 0:4:0
 To Firrit setting and nailing on to Desk & Cloths 0:1:0.
 1787 To George Pearson for dressing the Golgotha 0:0:6.**
 1788 A Prayer for the King 1s.†† 1790 To Church Bible
 & Common Prayer Book, Box & Flannel for cover 10:16:6.

POOR ACCOUNTS.

1754 (a quarter of mutton cost 10d. to 1/3). 1757 To
 expences at puting Jos: Robinsons apprentice 15s. Ditto
 one suit of cloaths 1:1:9.

1758 To Isabel Clark 1½ y ^d half thick 2s	} 3:15:6½
1½ y ^d Blue Harden †† 1s 4½d To one p clogs	
& Ironing 1s. to 1½ y ^d of plading 1s to 2½	
y ^d of scotch stuff & Dying 2s 1d to ¾ white	
harden 6d to ¼ Linnen cloth 3d to 1 p of	
stays 5s to Hanke & thread 8d to Tayler	
1s 8d to 12 w ^{ks} at 1s 8d & 40 w ^{ks} at 1s	
p wk	

(the same year a blanket was 3/4, a shift 2/4)

* Accession of George III.

† Birth of George IV.

‡ Capitulation of the Havana, at which the booty was valued at £3,000,000.

§ It is now in the author's possession and is dated 1764.

|| This and the preceding entries refer to expenses connected with the recasting of the bells, which we shall have occasion to allude to later.

¶ Firrit, narrow woollen tape.

** The Golgotha was some outbuilding for storing skulls and bones turned up when grave-digging. Ten years later a charge is made for clearing it of wood.

†† George III. was taken seriously ill, but recovered the following year.

‡‡ Harden, coarse cloth of linen or flax.

To expenses about Ann Wilson Tryal before 1:5:6
 Ditto Clark peace booking y^e appeal &c 0:7:10, Ditto 5
 men at 1s 6d p day 6 days 2:5:0 Ditto 6 horses, 6 days at
 1s 6d p day 2:14:0 Ditto Daniel Fleming 3s Subpaena
 1s Tho Lancaster Sawrey same 0:9:0. 1762 To crying
 notice of y^e Poor House 0:0:4 Robt Braithwt oil spinning
 weaving & milling 14 y^d cloth 0:10:6. 1783 To one p
 Cards 1:10 to a wool wheel 2:0 (3:10). 1784* To one
 Days work of Peats geting & leading 5:0 To one Cart
 of Peats 1:6 & 3 carts of Tops 1:6 (3:0)

To expences at Backbarrow when agreed with
 the master for two of his (John Nicholson's) } 0:1:6
 Daughters to stay in the Cotton works }

1786 Journey Horse Hire & expences to Backbarrow to
 order Eliner Preston to take her child to Mr Kellets of
 Long Sleddale to be cured of a scabbed head 0:2:6 To
 Mr Kellet for curing him 1:1:0† (The same year a spinning
 wheel 1:5 a card stock 8d and in 1787 2 half loads of
 meal 1:10:0 and a quarter of veal 4:9).

1789 To John Hayton for Duffel‡ for Breeches 2s 11½d
 Harden thread and buttons 9d For ale when his wife lay
 corpse 0:7:6 For oat Bread and White Bread till she
 was Buried 0:6:2 To Miles Robinson for her coffin 8d
 for a shroud 2:2 to George Ritson for bidding to Funeral
 &c. 0:2:0 to Agnes Holme for wailing and dressing the
 corpse &c 0:2:0. 1792 Paid for weaving Dressing and
 dying 21 yards 0:14:7 Paid to the Carrier for carrying
 her (a pauper) over the sands to Lancaster 6s:6d To the
 Chaise driver 1s To 6½ yds white Kersey at 20d 10:10
 2¼ yds blue Duffel at 20d 4s:9d two D^o Stripe Linsey at
 15d 2s:6d three yds Pladding 2s:4½d

(The same year a flax mill is mentioned: new clogs cost
 2/3 & 3/2 and cawkering them was 6d. A letter to White-
 haven was 6d.)

HAWKSHEAD QUARTER POOR ACCOUNT.

1795 To John Robinson for William Flemings board 2:15:0

1796 Paid to John Robinson of Hawkshead Hill } 12:0:0
 for old Sir Williams Board }

* A constable is mentioned this year, but there was probably one prior to this date.

† Kellet, of Long Sleddale, whose fees were those of a West End physician, may have been a "wiseman," and the child was taken to be charmed (see p. 317).

‡ Duffel—coarse, rough cloth.

1797 To Sir Williams Board with John Robinson at Hill 38 weeks at £13 : 13s. : 0d by the year £9 : 19s. : 6d Recd by two payments of his Pension £6 : 0s. : 0d Ballance £4 : 19s. : 6d paid for two shirts two Blankets & a new chaff Bed 0 : 18 : 11 Two night-light wakes and Funeral expences £1 : 3s : 3d	} 7 : 1 : 8
--	-------------

The subject of these entries was a pauper, and probably also insane; his death is thus recorded in the register:—
1797 "William Wilson of Hill commonly call'd Fleming a Pensioner Died Febr'y 4 Buried 6 in Churchyard a pauper."

There are no charges for a hearse in the accounts, but there are a few entries separately at the end of the first volume of accounts which give the date, we believe, for the first introduction of such an appliance. It should be noticed that this hearse belongs to Claife.*

"Hawkshead From the 30th of May 1796 The Hearse belonging to the Bailifwick and the Division of Claife lent out

29 th Augt 1796 to Cartmel with the Corpse of Mrs Taylor of Hawkshead	5 0
31 st March (1797) to Grasmere with the Corpse of Agnes Vickers of Oxenfel	5 0
1799 Oct ^{br} 12 for carrying the Corpse of John Kirkbys Wife from Knipefold to Fottle- bank 2 Days	7 6

and other similar entries.

ACCOUNT BOOK, No. 2.

This volume is bound in old vellum, and contains at the beginning the following inscription:—

"This Account Book was repaired in the old Binding in June, 1894, by us,

EDWARD W. OAK, Vicar.
H. S. COWPER, F.S.A."

It contains besides the ordinary accounts after 1771 (already noticed) a quantity of recent matter of considerable local interest. At one end, and taking up a considerable part of the volume, are the vestry minutes from 1763. One of these (No. 2), 9th April, 1765, records the resolution to recast the peal of bells, the expenses to be defrayed by voluntary

* Though at a Vestry meeting in 1792, one was to be ordered for Hawkshead.

subscriptions and by rates. This was carried out, and the bells, with the exception of one which was again recast in 1810, are those now in use. At the other end of the book we get first a list of the subscribers, and, secondly, the full accounts for the entire work, which we think of sufficient interest to reproduce in full.

March ye 30th 1765.

We whose names are under written being willing to Encourage a Design, so manifestly tending to the Advantage of the Parish of Hawkshead. Have Contributed as is below specified towards obtaining a (peal) of Six Bells.*

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Myles Sandys Esqr	30	0	0	Joseph Keen ...	0	5	0
John Benson Esqr				Mathew Hodgson ...	1	1	0
Betholme ...	30	0	0	Samuel Holme ...	0	2	6
William Ford Esqr	10	0	0	Robert Waterson ...	1	1	0
Thomas Strickland				John Waterson ...	0	5	0
Esqr ...	5	0	0	Joseph Wilson ...	0	10	6
Pierce Grove Esqr ...	5	0	0	Agnes Cowperthwaite	0	1	0
Mrs Agnes Bordley	5	0	0	John Sawrey ...	0	5	0
Robert Alexander ...	1	1	0	John Grainger ...	0	2	0
Gawen Brathwaite ...	2	2	0	Thomas Taylor ...	0	1	0
John Satterthwaite				Esther Rigge ...	0	10	6
Colthouse ...	1	1	0	John Holmes ...	0	1	0
William Braithwaite				Thomas Lancaster ...	0	4	0
Wray ...	0	10	6	John Bibby ...	0	1	0
Robert Jopson ...	0	2	6	Mrs Margret Satter-			
Mr Richard Hewett	1	1	0	thwaite ...	1	1	0
Jane Swainson ...	0	5	0	Mary Keen ...	0	2	6
Eleanor Brathwaite	0	5	0	William Braithwaite			
Richard Jesson ...	0	10	6	Satterhow ...	1	1	0
Dorothy Whinfield...	0	5	0	The Rev Isacc Knipe			
Ellen Mowson ...	0	5	0	Ambleside ...	1	1	0
Richard Otley ...	0	5	0	Widow Keen ...	0	2	0
Thomas Cowper-				John Gillbanks ...	0	5	0
thwaite ...	0	5	0	John Braithwaite ...	0	5	0
Mary Noble ...	0	1	0	George Rigge ...	0	5	0
Isacc Holme ...	0	3	0	Samuel Sandys ...	1	1	0
William Braithwaite				Thomas Moor... ..	0	10	6
Sadler ...	0	5	0	William Jackson ...	1	1	0

* In the writer's possession there is a contemporary copy of the following list of subscriptions, which differs slightly; but the one before us is the official one. In the copy, John Benson, Esq., is entered "one Bell" instead of £30 : 0 : 0, and this was actually his gift, as was also that of Myles Sandys; see the inscriptions quoted hereafter.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
James Benson... ..	1	1	0	The men who did			
William Nicholson... ..	0	1	0	subscribe and did			
Edward Atkinson	0	2	0	not pay their money			
John Borwick... ..	0	3	0	The Rev ^d Rich ^d Dix-			
Hugh Tyson	0	3	0	son London ...	5	0	0
John Brocklebank	0	5	0	Mr Ben Dixson do	5	0	0
Alice Deason	0	5	0	John Nicholson ...	1	1	0
William Spedding	0	1	0	Leonard Tyson ...	0	2	6
Oliver Otley	0	1	0	Nicholas Tyson ...	0	2	6
Johnathan Park	0	1	0				
Paul Posselthwaite... ..	0	2	6				
Joseph Garner	0	1	0				
John Borwick junr... ..	0	2	6				
Dorothy James	0	1	0				
John Walker	0	1	0				
<hr/>				<hr/>			
Total Recpts ...	107	4	0	unpaid	11	6	0

The general account which follows speaks for itself. It will be seen that the bells were paid for by weight to Mr. Harrison, the Lincolnshire bell founder, and that they came to over 36 cwt., the price per cwt. being £6 4s. od. It appears that the old set consisted of three bells, two of which are noted as discounted with Mr. Harrison, and a third was sold separately to Mr. Irton, who was at that date the owner of Hawkshead Hall. What became of this bell is quite unknown. Irton died in 1766, a year or so after he acquired it, and possibly his relations finding it a white elephant handed it back to the churchwardens, and it went into the melting-pot after all. It re-appears in the account for carriage of the new bells, so that it was evidently sent off somewhere.

An Account of the Cash Recd By the old Materials, Subscriptions and church Rates by James Park Matthew Kirkby William Dawson & Thos Newby Churchwardens for the year 1766 towards paying for the Bells—		£ s. d.
To Cash Discounted with Mr Harrison p two old Bells	..	42 1 8
To Cash for Mr Irton old Bell	..	24 19 5
To Cash p subscriptions	..	107 4 0
To Cash p Church rates £24 each Qr	..	96 0 0
		<hr/>
		270 5 1
An account of Cash Recd; By Thos: Hodgson and other Churchwardens for the year 1768 to a Balance due to the Bell founder Mr Harrison—		£ s. d.
To a Balance of Cash in the hands of Sundrys unremitted in the year 1766 towards the Bells	...	11 1 0
To Cash p Church rates a £4 Bill Each Quarter	...	16 0 0
		<hr/>
		27 1 0
P. Contra		£ s. d.
Creditor to Cash paid By James Park and others—		
To Two old Bells an l Cash Remitted p Sundry remittances to Mr Harrison as appears By this account	...	254 12 8
To Carriage paid for new Bells also for y ^e Bell Mr Irton had		4 11 5
To a Balance of Cash in the hands of Sundrys unremitted		11 1 0½
		<hr/>
		270 5 1½
P. contra		
To Cash paid Bell Founder By Thos Hodgson and other Churchwardens for the year 1768 to a Balance of Cash unremitted in the year 1766	...	11 1 0½
To Cash Due to his Balance out of Church rates of £4 each Quarter	...	15 16 2
		<hr/>
		26 17 2½
		<hr/>
		00 3 10
		<hr/>
		27 1 0½
Due to Balance in our hands of Ch ^h rates of y ^e £4 Bills...		
October y ^e 21st 1765.		
The Particulars of Mr Harrison y ^e Bell founders Bill. Paid to him for six new Bells 35s: 3: 7 at £6 4s, p C	...	228 4 6
Materials and Hanging	...	49 0 0
Clock mending and altering	...	2 10 0
a Rope 1s. Oil and Tallow 13½d.	...	0 2 1½
Wire 15d. Candles for y ^e ringers 6d.	...	0 1 9
Boards and other wood for Chambers	...	0 7 6
		<hr/>
		£281 9 10½
Paid for the Carriage of the Bells as above from Preston to Hawkshead		4 11 5
		<hr/>
		286 1 3

The Total Receipts as above ... 286 5 1
 Carried over leave the Balance ... 286 1 3
 3 10

Before we leave the subject, we should note the pretty and quaint rhyming inscription on the church bells. We wonder how many of the villagers who hear the weekly music know of these verses or have ever climbed into the belfry :—

First Bell, the treble—

Awake, awake, day is restor'd,
Awake, arise, to praise the Lord,
Reguard, look to, the peal I lead.

Second Bell—

We to the first must take good heed.

Third Bell—

In the third place I take my swing.

Fourth Bell—

I mind the third when we do ring.

Fifth Bell—

In the fifth place I give my sound.

Sixth Bell—

I close the peal, ring the bells round.

The bells have also the founder's stamp "Barrow, J. H., 1765." The first has also got the same date in large figures under the lines. The third has "James Harrison, of Barrow, in Lincolnshire, 1765." The fifth "John Benson, Esq., of Beethom, Westmoreland. Recast in 1810. Glory to God in the highest"; and the sixth "Memento mori, Myles Sandys, Esq., Graythwaite Hall, 1765." The last inscription seems to show that the bells were ordered in 1765, and dated that year, but that they were not completed until the following year, for Myles Sandys, of Graythwaite, died April 29th, 1766. But if this is so Harrison's bill must have been paid in advance, or what is perhaps more probable, the date as given in the account sheet is a clerical error for 1766. The full statement was evidently not made out until 1768.

ABSTRACTS OF THE MINUTES OF THE VESTRY MEETINGS.

No 1. 27 Sept 1763.

At a vestry meeting held in the Parish Church of Hawkshead in the County of Lancaster on Tuesday the twenty-seventh day of September in the year of our Lord one

thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, at ten of the Clock in the forenoon of the same day (after due notice had been given of such meeting to the Parishioners of the Parish of Hawkshead aforesaid in the said Parish Church, in time of Divine Morning Service on the Sunday preceeding the same, and by tolling ye Bell immediately before the said meeting). It is resolved and agreed by a majority of Parishioners . . . that the common forms or seats . . . which are old, decayed, and in a ruinous condition . . . be taken down . . . and new seats or Pews with Backs and Doors thereunto . . . be erected and built . . . the Churchwardens applying all ye Materials of the said old forms (so far as serviceable) towards the carrying on the said intended erections. Also that a vestry be built on the North side of the Steeple . . . in length eighteen feet and in Breadth fifteen feet . . . for which purposes the churchwardens should apply for the leave order and authority of the Ordinary . . . and that an equal and proportionable rate . . . be laid . . . for the expences.

signed by Reginald Brathwaite minister
two churchwardens and fourteen parishioners.

2. 9 April 1765.

Resolved that the three Bells . . . be taken down and disposed to the best advantage, and that a Peal or Ring of six bells (the largest of which not exceeding 8 hundredweight) be hung up in ye steeple A rate to be laid for that part of the expence which cannot be defrayed by subscriptions . . . and that the subscriptions to be paid to the Bell founder when the bells are hung: and the remainder, twelve months after the first payment.

Forty three signatures including Minister
and churchwardens.

3. 2 Dec 1765.

Agreed by a majority of the Sidesmen that two Bottles of red Port be allowed yearly for the use of the Communicants at Satterthwaite chapel.

4. 4 Jan 1766.

Resolved that an annual Sallery of three pounds three shillings be raised by rate for the six Bell ringers to be payed in equal sums to the said Bell ringers on the first Monday in every November. That the said Bell ringers shall begin to ring every Sunday Morning at half an hour past nine o'Clock at ye latest, & shall continue ringing till ye Bell toll for divine service to begin. That they shall ring for a quarter of an hour at the least, beginning immediately after

divine morning service is ended. That they shall ring the greatest part of the three following festivals, namely on Christmas day, on the Kings Accession to the Throne, and on the Papists Conspiracy.

5. 3 June 1766.

Vestry held to elect sidesmen.

Elected

ClaiFFE

William Taylor of Briars in far Sawrey
Joseph Taylor of Nar Sawrey
William Mouson of far Sawrey
William Rigge of Colthouse
John Satterthwaite of Colthouse
William Braithwaite of Wray

Coniston Skelwith and Arnside

William Kirkby of Thwaite
John Jackson of Bank Ground
William Knipe of Hawkshead
James Benson of Skelwith
John Benson of Skelwith
Gawen Braithwaite of Brathey

Satterthwaite Dale Park Grisedale & Graythwaite

Myles Sandys Esq: of Graythwaite Hall
Thomas Strickland Esq: of Kendal
William Ford Esq: of Coniston
William Townson of Grisedale
John Kitchin of Satterthwaite
William Penny of Grisedale

Hawkshead Hawkshead field and Fieldhead

George Braithwaite of Fowlyeat
George Benson of Howe
Robert Alexander of Hawkshead
Robert Waterson of Waterson Ground
John Braithwaite of Hawkshead Hill
John Borwick Jun^r of Borwick Ground

6. 8 Jan 1770.

Robert Alexander and William Kirkby sidesmen having died, their respective sons James Alexander, and David Kirkby elected in their place.

7. 30 Aug 1768.

Resolved that the deficit of £15 16s. 2d. (which includes £11 7s. 6d. unpaid subscriptions) due to Mr Harrison bell founder be raised by a rate.

8. 24 Sept 1770.

Resolved That the Reading Desk & Pulpit which at present are incommodious both for hearing and performing divine Service, be altered so that ye Pulpit be fixed adjacent to ye place where ye reading Desk now stands and both of them be made large enough for cloths belonging to the said Church and intended for each of them. Expenses by rate.

After this follow a long series of vestry minutes chiefly respecting the pewing of the church, from which it will be seen that, although the question was first raised in 1763 (see No. 1), and the completion of the work was planned for 1779 (see No. 11), the faculty was not granted until 1793, nor was the pewing apparently actually completed till well into the following year. These minutes being very long and technical we are unable to give more than brief *resumés* in these pages

9. 21 Oct 1777.

Very similar to No. 1, in tenor; also, That a fourth part of the said new pews to be erected and completed every year from the within date, Till the whole be erected and compleated. And that unless a majority of the Parishioners of the said Parish at a meeting on the 4th November next consent to a Division of the pews into four parts, each quarter of the said Parish to have one-fourth part of the said church, the present resolutions are to be null and void.

Agreed to without one dissentient.

10. 4 Nov 1777.

The minute recapitulates and ratifies the last and concludes:—

It is also agreed that after the said Church is so new seated and pewed, according to the Plan hereto annexed, the dividing of such new Seats and Pews shall be made in the following manner by Ballot, namely, That Quarter which has the first choice shall have the eighth choice, the Quarter which has the second choice shall have the fifth, the Quarter which has the third choice shall have the sixth, and that Quarter which has the fourth choice shall have the seventh choice, and so on successively in the manner aforesaid 'til all the Pews shall be chosen, the said Plan being expressed in Figures in the following manner

N ^o	1	2	3	4
	2	3	4	1
	3	4	1	2
	4	1	2	3

Signed by 26 parishioners, there being one dissentient, James Rowlandson

11. 24 March 1778.

Resolved that the forms be moved and replaced (as above) and that the Font be removed to near the S.W. Door as marked in annexed plan,* reserving for the common use of the Parishioners, a space 19 feet 8 inches on the N. side of the little "Ile" lying on the N. side of the middle Ile, which 19 feet 8 inches are to be measured from the N.W. door of the church, and to be made up into four seats or Pews with Backs but no doors thereto: also reserving for the common use a space 22 feet 8 inches on the S. side of the little Ile situate on the South side of the middle Ile, to be measured from the S.W. door, and made up into five seats as above. Also sufficient room on the South side of the staircase (? to the gallery) for a similar pew nine feet by 2 feet 6 inches. Also reserving two similar pews on the N. side of the staircase and between it and the N.W. door, each 7 feet by 2 feet 6 inches also a pew 11 feet by 4 feet 6 inches for the singers of psalms. Also another pew 11 feet by 4 feet 6 inches, half for the Churchwardens, and half to be left common. The body of the Church to be divided into and amongst the four quarters viz Satterthwaite and Grisedale, Claife, Conistone and Skelwith, and Hawkshead Hawkshead field and Hawkshead field-head. The manner of allotting and ballotting to be that the names of the quarters written on pieces of paper be put into one hat, and the numbers 1 2 3 4 written on other slips put into another hat, which are then to be drawn by some "indifferent and disinterested Person" a name with one hand, and a number with the other.

Further resolved that all the pews be erected and compleated by 24th March 1779, within six weeks after which completion, another vestry is to be called to divide the allotted pews into private shares "that every such Parishoner or Inhabitant as may be entitled to a share or shares in the said Pews within the Quarter where his Property lies, may know his respective share or shares," such private shares to be determined by a majority at that vestry. When the Pews are allotted and divided, they shall be paid for by a rate or assessment, or as each Quarter can agree among themselves. It is further resolved that a copy of the plan shall be transcribed in the "Parish Book or Register," shewing each persons share, and the rate to be paid for such: and lastly "in order more effectually to silence any clamour or dispute which may happen to arise with respect to any doubts that should at any time hereafter be started" reference shall be made to the Rev Dr Burn of Orton, and if he decline to determine,

* There is no plan in the book with this minute.

arbitrators shall be appointed by the Vestry, whose determination shall be final.

Then follows the construction of the pews:—

A sole to be laid 5 in. square of oak on each side of the Iles, properly supported from the surface of the Burying Ground. Joists to be 4 in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. of the same. Floor to be 1 in. thick of Riga deal, Partitions and doors of the same sort (deal), the framing wherof $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. Pannels adjoining Iles $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick and to be raised on outside. Pannels of middle partitions $\frac{1}{2}$ in. and plain, but Frame to be stuck on both sides Bottom rail of each door at least 6 in. Top rail 4 in. There shall be a coping at top of seats or Partitions sufficiently broad to cover a moulding $\frac{5}{8}$ in. on each side. Seats to be 1 foot broad, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick. Doors hung with edge hinges at least 2 in. at joints: and height of each pew to be 3 feet 7 in.

Lastly this order to be transcribed into Parish book

signed by 40 parishioners, the
minister, and 3 churchwardens.

An endorsement gives the result of the ballot, *although the faculty was not granted till 15 years later.*

No 1 to Satterthwaite and Grisedale Quarter

No 2 to Claife Quarter

No 3 to Hawkshead, Hawkshead field and Fieldhead
Quarter

No 4 to Conistone and Skelwith Quarter.

12. 21 January 1783.

ELECTION OF SIDESMEN

Hawkshead

George Benson of How

Richard Coulthred of Hawkshead field

William Knipe of Hawkshead

John Borwick of Borwick Ground

John Rigge of Skinner How

Robert Robinson of Fieldhead

Claife

William Braithwaite of High Wray

William Rigge of Green End

John Strickland Esq^r of Ulverstone

The Rev^d Mr John Braithwaite of Sawrey

George Braithwaite of Harrowslack

John Hogarth of Sawrey

Satterthwaite

Myles Sandys Esq^r of Graythwaite Hall
 John Russell the younger of Force Forge
 Robert Cousin of Satterthwaite
 James Fisher of the same
 James Rowlandson of the same

Monk Coniston

George Knott Esq^r Waterhead
 Mr John Jackson Bank Ground
 John Wilson Skelwith
 William Benson same
 James Jackson of Low Parke

At the same vestry it was agreed that the Churchwardens should purchase a new surplice for the minister: and also an umbrella for shelter for the minister's use, in walking with the corpse to the grave.

What happened to put an end to these schemes for pewing in 1778, when they had got so far, there is nothing to show. Abandoned they certainly were, and the next entry is:—

13. Notice of meeting of vestry for 11 May 1792 to consult about repewing. also about building a vestry and buying a Parish hearse.

14. 11 May 1792.

Resolved as to removing of pews and font as in No. II. Reserving 7 pews on N. side of little Ile lying on N. side of middle Ile, and 8 like pews on S. side of little Ile lying on S. of Middle Ile for the common use of the Parish. The Churchwardens pew to be removed and placed against wall on S. side of Gallery stairs, to be in common without a door. The Ile in the W. end of the Church to be new flagged. Also a pew for common use without a door on each side of the passage into the intended vestry. Also a churchwardens pew with a door in the place of that to be removed. Three pews for singers of psalms to be fixed where their present seat is. All pews to be completed by 11 May 1793. Old materials to be used where practicable etc. Then follows a specification of the work identical with that in No. II. except that it is stated that in laying the floor "the flags in all the Iles must be taken up, and relaid properly again between the soles," and the pews are to be 3 feet 6 in. instead of 3 ft. 7 in. To be paid for, one half at end of a month after completion, and the other half at end of second year from the date of this order. It is also resolved that the same be carried out, and divided as

allotted by Vestry order 24 March 1778 (No II), except that the Quarters of the Parish marked and numbered on the plan as 3 and 4, shall take to the pews in the place where the present Reading Desk and Pulpit stand, instead of those in the place where the same are by the present order to be removed to. And that the several pews are to be single instead of double.

Sixteen signatures.

15. 11 May 1792.

A further order about the Vestry on the N. side of the steeple. To extend in length from W. end of the Church Northward 17 feet 6 inches, and in breadth from steeple 15 feet 6 inches. Details as to door step, joists, ceiling, etc the last to be about 9 feet 8 inches high. A chimney in W. wall. Window in N. side about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet with a sliding sash. To be completed by 11 May 1793.

16. 11 May 1792.

Further resolved that the reading desk and Pulpit be removed from present place, to the place where the pulpit formerly was against the second pillar of the N. Ile. The Churchwardens are to order a hearse.

17. 25 Nov 1792. Notice for a Vestry to be held on 27 Nov. for the purpose of applying for a faculty license.

18. 27 Nov. 1792.

Copy of the Formal application by the Minister, Churchwardens, Landowners, etc. to George Markham, Clerk, M.A. Commissary, for a faculty to carry out the proposed alterations and also "to take away the double folding gate, and the single gate thereto, leading into the said churchyard and instead of the present entrance, to make two regularly ascending roads or Paths of the width of 12 feet, to lead from the Public market place or street up to the said church, with a Breast Wall to the said street, and a gate to each of the said paths." Committee appointed of the Minister, six landowners, and three churchwardens.

19. 1 May 1793.

A copy of the faculty granted on above date, signed and sealed by Jas Barrow, Dep. Regr.

20. Copy of full contract for work, 30 July 1793.

It contains full details of laying the sole, measurements of pews, etc. The specification for removal of the pulpit (not a new one) mentions alterations which include a "sound board."

The vestry is to have a "Fashionable grate with freestone hobs and slabs." All to be completed by 1 Oct. 1794, except the vestry, which is to be covered 1 Nov. next, and the inside finished by 25 Dec^r. The room underneath the vestry for the hearse. Also all work specified to be done in Riga deal, shall instead be done in red deal without sap.

The following tenders accepted,

Joiners work. Oliver Barrow of Cartmel, and George Taylor of Ulverston, 188£.

Waller's work. Thomas Usher of Walker Ground, waller, and Thomas Johnson of Ambleside, partners 36£.

21. 22 November 1794.

Notice of a vestry to be held on 3rd Dec to allot pews.

22. 3 Dec^r 1794.

Resolved that the pews be painted light stone colour on the outsides and upper railing. Also that the little pew erected where the pulpit had been, should be appropriated to the master of the Grammar School.

23. 17 Dec 1794.

General public Vestry meeting.

Resolved by all Landowners and Inhabitants, ratepayers of Quarter of Hawkshead, Hawkshead field, and Hawkshead fieldhead, that the pews belonging to that Quarter be sold to ratepayers of the Quarter. No person to buy two sittings until every ratepayer has had opportunity to buy one. Sale to be 14 Jan. next. Expence of erecting pews to come out of proceeds of sale; surplus to be returned.

21 signatures including Minister and one churchwarden.

Resolved by majority of Landowners etc. of Coniston and Skelwith Quarter, that the proprietors of ancient messuages should pay the expence of erecting the pews; and should be entitled to them as marked and numbered in the order they have unanimously chosen them.

List follows of pews thus chosen.

Example—

Pews marked.	Proprietors names.	Tenements.
C & S	John Benson	Skelwith Fold and Bull Close.

Resolved in Claife Quarter as in Hawkshead Quarter.

Ten signatures.

For Satterthwaite and Grisedale Quarter, Thomas Bellingham chapelwarden appeared and stated that it was the sense of the said Quarter to let the pews for one year.

At the same vestry it was resolved that in future the fee for burying in the body of the church should be 5 : 5 : 0, and also the expence of breaking ground, and disturbing and replacing seats. And in the Chancel 10 : 10 : 0, and the like expenses.

24. Notice that at the sale to be held on 14th Jan 1795, will be put to the vote, whether it will not be better to sell by pews instead of seats.

25. 14 Jan 1795.

Meeting of Landowners, Occupiers, and Inhabitants etc. of Hawkshead Quarter.

Resolved as above to sell by pews, those marked H. 1 to 21.

List of buyers and prices given

	£	s.	d.
highest 13. Robt Robinson Hawkshead fieldhead ...	13	0	0
lowest 11. J ^{no} Taylor Oldham, Hawkshead ...	2	2	0
Total	£125	: 11	: 0

Resolved in same manner, by inhabitants etc of Claife. Pews sold C, 1 to 21.

	£	s.	d.
highest, 16. W ^m Braithwaite for Town End ...	9	15	0
Mich ^l Satterthwaite			
lowest, 14. John Thomas Rigge, Low Fold ...	1	11	0
Total	£109	: 19	: 6.

26. 17 Jan 1804.

Resolved that the Clock being very old and irregular, be altered from a twenty-four hour clock to an eight day clock; and that a clocksmith be employed for the same.

27. 12 March 1828.

A committee appointed for conducting and ordering matters relating to an intended organ to be purchased by subscription, and placed in a central situation in the gallery. Appointment of organist to be vested in the committee. A collection in Church once a year for his salary. If short of £12 deficiency to be supplied by church rate.

The remaining entries down to 1846 are general Parish or Vestry meetings relating to the laying of the yearly church rates.

OTHER ACCOUNT BOOKS.

Besides the two account books we have treated of, there are two others of less importance. One of them, bound in leather, contains an account of the yearly distribution of the charitable bequest of George Rigg, the old parish clerk, from 1707, the year after his death, to 1761. The other is nothing more than a few leaves within a paper back, containing "An account of ye poor pensioners Within the Division of Monk Conistone & Skelwith 1725", and other similar disbursements to 1743.

Concerning George Rigg's Charity something will be said in the Appendix; but we give here some verses inscribed on blank leaves towards the end of the book. The handwriting appears to be about 1750, and is very similar to that in which the accounts were kept at that date; though it may not be the same.

Deep in the covert of a wood;
 upon a verdant Spot,
 with many a winding path enclosed
 Appeared a spacious grot
 Grave Contemplation on the roof
 had fix'd her awful seat
 and elms and hazles thick entwined
 oershad the calm retreat
 In vain for peace and sweet content
 we search the great mans dome
 Content and peace and bloomy health
 had mad(e) this Cot their home
 and oft around with balmy breath
 the Gentle Zephyrs play'd
 and near a pensive purling rill
 in wild meanders stray(d)
 before the Cave the blushing rose
 and white rob lily sprung
 and in th' adjoining bushes perch'd
 the thrush and linnet sung
 here Dwelt a man from noise retired
 the subject of my tale
 whom all the neighbouring shepherds call'd
 the hermit of the vale

his beard was silvered oer with age
 Like Drifts of mountain Snow
 his hoary locks adown his back
 in careless order flow

here Dwelt this happy man alone
 nor wished a loftier sphere
 his body felt no foul Disease
 his bosom felt no care

Called by his early crowing cock
 at Dawn of Day he wakes
 and oer the Dew besprinkled lawn
 his morning ramble takes

and whilst he views the earth beneath
 the glowing sky above
 No passion touchd his beating heart
 But pure celestial love

The vernal sweets around difused
 to him a calmness Give
 Oh think of this ye city Lords
 and Learn from him to Live

But when he seeks his Custom'd meal
 no far fetch'd dainties smoak
 his dainties were a plate of herbs
 his table was of Oak

No silver plate around the Cot
 a splendid light disclosed
 a Deaths head and an hour Glass
 his furniture Composed

Oh all ye mortals view the glass
 and Count the hours that fly
 Vain Creatures view the head of Death
 and Learn from thence to die

though such the meanness of his lot
 though such his simple cheer
 yet hospitality benign
 her hand could open here

if ever pilgrim thro' the wood
 far from his path should stray
 He glad receiv'd him at his board
 Or Lead him on his way

but when still Night ascends her throne
 he Climbs the mountain high
 and thence with raptur'd eye observes
 the stars that gild the sky

he pours celestial hymns of praise
 to god the king of all
 who sits in majesty enthron'd
 In th' emperæan hall
 but once—my heart still bleeds to tell
 and flies the mournful sound
 the moon still view'd him and disfus'd
 her conscious light around
 the pious hermit seiz'd with joy
 unusual joy I trow
 seemed in a trance to mount the skies
 relieved from mortal woe
 Just at that instant Death grim king
 Like morpheus seal'd his eyes
 But ere he died to heav'n he thus
 With holy fervour Cries

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS FROM THE PARISH
MUNIMENT CHEST.

There remain a few other papers, which, though trivial in character, merit record, when so little documentary evidence of old parochial life has been preserved. First is an assessment by the churchwardens in 1690, and earlier, consequently, than anything in the Parish account book.

20th January } Assessment of several disbursints layd downe by
 1690 } Churchwardens for the Church nessaryes (*sic*)
 this year

			s.	d.
Mr Samuell Sandys...	...	...	1	6
Mr Willm Rawlinson	...	...	1	6
Miles Sandys Esq ^r...	...	...	× 0	9*
Miles Sands Sen ^r...	...	...	0	8
Dauid Sands Tenemt	...	...	0	6
Miles Sandys Esq ^r...	...	...	× 0	4
William Walker	...	...	0	6
Miles Walker	...	...	× 0	5
Jane Walker...	...	...	0	1
John Lindall...	...	...	0	1
John Scale	...	...	× 0	8
for Great field	...	...	× 0	1
Tho Strickland	...	...	× 0	4
James Taylor	...	...	× 0	4
Tho Strickland Jun ^r	...	...	× 0	2

* The crosses probably mean that the sums were paid.

	s.	d.
Willm Walker	0	3
Ocup̄s of Mr Sandys land ...	0	3
John Rawlinson Esqr̄	x 0	6
Mr Abraham Rawlinson	0	7
John Kendall	x 0	2
Rowland Taylor	0	1
Ocup of Aptreflat	0	1
John Scale	x 0	5
Ux̄r Jo Hirdson	x 0	2
James Penington	x 0	2 ob
Robert Penington	0	2
Ocup̄ of Miles Gilpin tent ...	0 x	4
Robt Taylor	0 x	2
Robt Satterthwait	x 0	8
John Turner	0	1
William Satterthwait	x 0	3
Miles Rigge	x 0	4
Rich. Rigge	x 0	5
Rich. Dixon	x 0	3
Geo Rigge	x 0	4
Ocup̄ Will Kirkby Tent	x 0	5
Mr Tho Strickland	x 0	5
William Sawrey	x 0	5
William Pepper wife	0	1
William Turner	x 0	2
Sr Tho Rawlinson knight... ..	1 x	4
Tho Walker	x 0	4
John Townson	x 0	6
William Townson	x 0	5
Willi Townson & Isabell	x 0	2
John Scale	x 0	5
James frearson	x 0	3
William Townson Junr̄	0 x	3
Robert Knipe	x 0	4
William Knipe	x 0	4
John Townson Senr̄	0	5
William Townson	x 0	1
William Sands	0	1
Robt Rigge	0	ob
Mr Rodger ffleeminge	0 x	3
sessors ? of this bill		
Richard Rigge		
James Braithwait	li s. d.	
This bill comes to	1 : 0 :	5
of wch p Richard Rigg... ..	0 : 11 :	3
Rests yet due	0 : 9 :	2
& more for 3 burials	0 : 10 :	0

More interesting are a few briefs which turned up in the same chest. "Briefs" were Royal warrants, or Letters Patent, issued authorising church or other parochial collections for building or rebuilding churches, for repairing damage by fire, flood, or other catastrophe, or for ransoming the captives of Barbary corsairs. They were issued from the Court of Chancery, and were very numerous during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

We have, among the old chest papers, a few such lists of collections by brief, but though none are dated, it is evident that they are all about the middle of the last century.

No. I.

"A gethethering (? gathering) for a brief in Wiltshire by fire.

Doctor Jesson	...	...	...	...	...	£0	0	2
W ^m Nicholson Hanekin...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
M ^{rs} Bordley Hanekin	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
M ^r Biby Rodger Gd	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
W ^m Denison Rodger Gd	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
James Park	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Edw ^d Thwaits	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
George Benson How	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
M ^r Coulthred	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Edw ^d Willson	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
George Braithw ^{te} foulyeat	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
M ^r Rigg Walker Gd	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	3
John Grigg Walker Gd...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Margret Gregg	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Robt Thwaits	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Robt Dickinson	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Thos Tayler	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Tho ^s Eckels	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
M ^r Gibson	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
John Rigg	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Isabel Boonas	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
M ^{rs} Satterthw ^{te}	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
M ^{rs} Braithw ^{te} Satterhow	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Marget Robinson	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
M ^r Stephenson	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Robt Alexxander	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Myles Robinson	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
W ^m Knipe	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
M ^r Willson	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2

Mrs Sargison	...	...	...	...	...	£0	0	1
Thos Hodgson	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Thos Parker	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Clement Satterth ^{wte}	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Hugh Troughton	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Mr Moor	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
John Biby	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Hugh Tyson	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2

£0 5 8

Brought over	...	...	...	...	...	5	8	
John Sawrey	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Edw ^d Braithw ^{te}	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Mally Keene and Jane Wilkinson	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2 ^p
Joseph Tayler	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Jane Dixon	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Joseph fforster	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Mrs Jane	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Joseph Keen	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Mrs Braithw ^{te}	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Mally Nouble	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Mr Cowperthw ^{te}	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Peeter Sawrey	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Mrs Whinfield	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Thos Stamper	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Mary Keen	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Edw ^d Otley	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Mrs Mawson	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Oliver Otley	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Mrs Satterthw ^{te} Red Lion	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Mrs Briggs	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Miller Hawkshead Mill	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Easter Rigg Skinner How	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Robert Watterson Tanner	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	3
Mathew Jackson Outyeat	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Robt Rigg fieldhead	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Edw ^d Atkinson Outyeat	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Saml Torner widdow	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
W ^m Jackson	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Thos Warriner	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
George Birket fieldhead	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
John Mawson fieldhead	not p ^d	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
Paul Postlethwaite	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
Joseph Garrnet	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
Mr John Borwick Junieur	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
John Bank	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
John Borwick Seeniour	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	2

Joseph Braithw ^{te} Hill	£0 0 2
James Swainson... ..	... torn away
Lidy Swainson and her neighbour... ..	... torn away
	£ " "
Brought over ... ..	... 0 11 5
W ^m Park Hill ... ..	... 0 0 2
Henery Swainson ... ..	... 0 0 1
George Rigg Hill ... ..	... 0 0 2
John Braithw ^{te} Hill ... ..	... 0 0 2
W ^m Turner town ... ..	... 0 0 2
Dame Redy and Jane Bailiff ... ..	... 0 0 2
Isaac Holme ... ..	... 0 0 1
Doctor Hodgson ... ..	... 0 0 3
Mr Biggland officer ... ..	... 0 0 3
Mr James Allixander ... ..	... 0 0 3
<hr/>	
Hawkshead	£0 13 2
Skelwith ... ..	... 0 5 2
Claife ... ..	... 0 5 1
<hr/>	

I 3 5

No. 2.—For the Rebuilding the Chapels of Hindley & Padiham both in the Bottom of this County.

	s.	d.
Mr Alexander	0	2
John Braithwaite	0	2
John Dixon	0	1
Henery Swainson	0	2
George Rigge	0	2
George Borwick	0	2
John Borwick	0	2
John Marling	0	1
Robert Rigge	0	2
Thomas Warriner	0	1
W ^m Denison		2
Ned Whaites (?)		1
Geo Benson		2
Geo. Braithwt.		2
Edw ^d Willson		1
Edw ^d . Scales		2
Mr Colthred		1
Isaac Wilson		2
Mr ^s Bordley		6
W ^m Nicholson		2
Jos: Keen		2
Mr Stephenson		2
Alice Deason		1
Tho ^s Lancaster		1

No. 4.—Illengworth Chapel
in Yorkshire.

	s.	d.
John Gillbanks	0	1
Anty Holme	0	1
Anthy Atkinson	0	2
James Benson	0	1
John Benson	0	1

No. 5.—Black Rod Chapel
in Lancaster.

	s.	d.
Will ^m Ford	0	6
James Midellbr.	0	1
John Gillbankss	0	1
Anthoy Holme	0	1
James Jackson	0	2
James Benson	0	1
John Benson	0	1
Mary Braythwaite	0	4

These two are on one piece of paper.

On another paper—

Collections for Briefs.

	s.	d.	
Waters Upton Church	1	10	} 2 8 7½
for Marsh Gibbon	16	9	
for Sleep	5	2½	
Oyster Dredgers Ch. of Medway	8	6	
for Holy Trinity Church	2	7	
for Polsworth Church	2	9½	
for Much Wenlock Church	4	1½	
for Huby & North marston	6	10	

Four papers of the eighteenth century regarding the management of the parish poor, are all that remain beside the overseers' accounts. Two of these are orders signed by a magistrate for maintenance and relief. Another is a "settlement," which means a Justice's order for the removal of a strayed Hawkshead pauper back to her parish, by the parochial authorities of Whitehaven, whither she had strayed, and to the wardens and overseers' of Hawkshead to provide for her on her return. The fourth we omit, being only a certificate from the minister and parish officers of Cliburn in Westmorland, that such and such are legally settled in that parish. No doubt they had strayed to Hawkshead and there applied for relief, but on this certificate, would be returned to their own parish.

I Order for Relief

County Palatine } To wit Myles Sandys Esq^{re} one of his
of Lancaster } Majesties Justices of the Peace of
and for the County aforesd This

to the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor for the Division of Hawkshead and Cunistone with Skelwith in the said County

Complaint being made unto me by Thomas James That by Reason of his Poverty the bad state of Health of his Wife and the Disability of two of their Children through their Infancy he is not able to provide for himself and Family but must perish if not timely relieved by some weekly or other allowance. These are therefore to command you to relieve him the said Thomas James and his said Family or immediately to appear before me to shew Cause if you can why he and they shall not have a weekly relief granted them Given under my Hand and seal the eleventh day of February 1748-9

Myles Sandys

SEAL

Gentlemen

The Truth of the above Complaint is sufficiently confirmed to me yrs M.S.

2. Another one dated March 7th, 1750, ordering relief to Widow Mulby, of Sawrey, ill of a fever. Signed, Myles Sandys and addressed to John Hodgson, overseer of the Poor of the Division of Claif. This is an informal letter.

3 A Settlement.


"To the Chappell Wardens & Overseers of the Poor of the Town of Whitehaven in the Parish of St Bees in the County of Cumberland And to the Churchwardens & Overseers of the Township of Hawkside in the County of Lancaster & to each of them

Cumberland
to wit

Peter How



Upon Complaint of the Chappell Wardens & Overseers of the Poor of the Township of Whitehaven unto us whose names are Subscribed two of his Majestys Justices of the Peace & for ye sd County of Cumberland & one of us of the Quorum that Elizabeth Braithwaite an Infant of Three Years Old was lately brought into ye sd Township by Clara Braithwaite single woman and that the said Elizabeth Braithwaite is now chargeable to the said Township of Whitehaven & likely to continue so, We therefore upon Due proof made upon oath by Clara Braithwaite Mother of the sd Eliz Braithwaite, who hath swore that the sd

Eliz: Braithwaite is her Bastard Child & was
 born in Hawkside in the County of Lancaster,
 do upon Due Consideration of the Premises
 adjudge the same to be true And we do
 likewise Adjudge That the settlement of the
 Tho: Lutwidge  sd Eliz: Braithwaite (that is the last legal
 settlem^t) is att Hawkside in the County of
 Lancaster by its Birth there as a Bastard
 We do therefore Require you to Convey the
 sd Eliz: Braithwaite from Whitehaven to
 the Township of Hawkside in the County
 of Lancaster And we do also Require you
 the said Churchwardens & Overseers of the
 Poor of the Township of Hawkside in the
 County of Lancaster to Receive & provide
 for her as an Inhabitant of your Parish or
 Township. Given under our Hands & Seals
 this 31st day of March 1739

Royal Proclamations and forms of prayer occur more than
 once in the Churchwardens' accounts. Here is such a printed
 proclamation rescued from the old parish chest. The forms
 of prayer ordered at the end to be used on this occasion
 are duly charged in the wardens' accounts for this year at
 three shillings.

G R



By the King
 A Proclamation
 For a General Fast
 George R

Whereas we have been obliged for vindicating the honour
 of our Crown, securing the Trade and Navigation of Our
 Subjects, and Defending Our undoubted Right, to declare
 War against the King of Spain; and are determined to
 prosecute the same with the utmost Vigour, till, by the
 Blessing of God on Our Arms, We shall obtain that Satisfaction
 and Security, which we may hope from the Justice of Our
 Cause; We therefore, putting Our Trust in the Divine
 Assistance, have resolved, and do, by and with the Advice
 of Our Privy Council, hereby command, That a publick
 Fast and Humiliation be observed throughout that Part of

Our Kingdom of Great Britain called England, Our Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, upon Wednesday the Tenth Day of November next; that so both We and Our People may humble Ourselves before Almighty God, in order to obtain Pardon for Our Sins; and may, in most devout and Solemn Manner, send Our Prayers and Supplications to the Divine Majesty, for averting those heavy Judgements, which our manifold Sins and Provocations have most justly deserved; and imploring his Blessing and Assistance on Our Arms, and for restoring and perpetuating Peace, Safety, and Prosperity to Us, and Our Kingdoms. And We do strictly charge and command, That the said Publick Fast be reverently and devoutly observed by all Our loving Subjects in England, Our Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, as they tender the Favour of Almighty God, and would avoid his Wrath and Indignation; and upon Pain of such Punishment, as we may justly inflict on all such as contemn and neglect the Performance of so religious and necessary a Duty. And for the better and more orderly solemnizing the same, We have given Directions to the Most Reverend the Archbishops, and the Right Reverend the Bishops of England, to compose a Form of Prayer suitable to this Occasion, to be used in all Churches, Chapels, and Places of publick Worship; and to take care the same be timely dispersed throughout their respective Dioceses.

Given at Our Court at Kensington, the Fifteenth Day of September, 1742, in the Sixteenth Year of Our Reign •

GOD SAVE THE KING.

LONDON

PRINTED BY THOMAS BASKETT, PRINTERS TO THE KING'S
MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, 1742.

CHAPTER X.

THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF HAWKSHEAD.

THE Royal Letters Patent, dated 10th of April, 27 Eliz. (1585), are still preserved in good condition at the Grammar School. They are written in a beautiful hand of the period on a sheet of vellum, measuring 31 inches by $25\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the initial letter contains a portrait of the queen, enthroned, crowned, and carrying her orb and sceptre. The first line is very ornate, with beautifully "tricked" border in which are depicted the lion, crowned rose, dragon, fleur de lis and harp. The royal seal is lost, for at some date a small iron case has been made to contain the MS., and the seal has been removed to preserve separately. The transcript we give preserves the original spelling and contractions.*

Elizabeth Dei Gracia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regina fidei defensor etc **Omnibus** ad quos presentes litere peruenerint: Salutem: **Cum** reuerendissimus in Xpo pater Edwinus prouidencia diuina Ebor Archiepus nobis humilime supplicavit ut infra poch de hawkesheade in Com lanc unam scholam gramatical ad bonam educacoem et instruccionem pueror et Juuenum ibidem et circa partes vicinas hitancm et comoran erigi et stabiliiri dignaremur. **Sciatis** qd nos huic pie peticoi libent annuent ex gracia nostra speciali certa sciencia et mero motu nostris volumus concedimus et ordinamus pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris qd de cetero sit et

* The Letters Patent have never been published in any permanent work, but in the 1835 and 1863 rules of the school they are printed with the contractions expanded, and spelling somewhat modernized.

erit una schola gramatical infra poch de hawkesheade predict que erit et vocabitur liba schola gramatical dicti Edwini Ebor Archiepi pro educacoe institucioe et instructioe pueror et Juvenū in gramatica ppetuis temporibus futur duratur, Ac scholam ill de uno magro siue pedagogo pro ppetuo duratur erigimus creamus ordinamus et fundamus per presentes. **Et** ut intencio nostra predict melior capiat effem et ut terr tenementa reddit reuercoes et al ad sustentacoem schole predict concedend assignand et appunctuand melius gubernentur volumus et ordinamus qd de cetero Samuellus Sandes Christoferus Sandes Adamus Sandes genero's, Willmus Sawrey, Bernardus Benson, Rowlandus Nicholson Thomas Rawlingson et Jacobus Taylor Yeomen sint erunt et vocabuntur gubernator possessionn revencionn et bonor dce schole vulgarit vocat et vocand libe schole gramatical Edwini Ebor Archiepi infra poch de hawkesheade in Com nostro lancast, Et qd iidem gubernator in re fco et noie de cetero sint et erunt unu corpus corporat et politicum impm per nomen gubernator possessionn reuencionn et bonor libe schole grammatical Edwini Ebor Archiepi infra poch de Hawkesheade in Com nostro lancast incorporat et erect, Ac ipos gubernator possessionum reuencionn et bonor libere schole gramatical Edwini Ebor Archiepi infra poch de hawkesheade in Com nostro lanc per presentes corporamus ac corpus corporat et politicum per idem nomen impm duratur realit et ad plenn creamus erigimus ordinamus facimus et constituimus per presentes. **Ac Volumus** et per presentes ordinamus et concedimus pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris qd iidem gubernatores possessionn revencionn et bonor dicte libe schole gramatical Edwini Ebor Archiepi infra poch de hawksheade predict habeant successionem perpetuam, Et per idem nomen sint et erint psone hiles et in lege capaces ad hend pquirend et recipiend maner terr tenementa prat pasc pastur reddit reuercoes reuenc et hereditament quecunq3 tam de nobis heredibus vel Successoribus nostris qm de dicto Archiepo hered vel Assignat suis vel de aliqua al psona siue de aliquibus aliis psonis quibuscunq3 dumodo non excedant clarum annu valorem trigint librar bone et legis monete Anglie ultra omnia onera et repris, Et qd ipsi de cetero licite et impune omnia et singula terr tenementa piata pasc pastur et cetera hereditamenta quecunq3 ad sustentac seu manuten schole predict aliquo tempore imposterum obtinend seu pquirend et quamlt inde pt et pcell quibuscunq3 ligeis nostris pro

termino anni vel annor concedere dimittere vel assignare possint et valeant impm. Ita qd eedem dimissiones sic fiend non sint contra vel repugnant legibus siue ordinac fiend siue stabiliend pro melior gubernac et relevamine schole predict ut inferius in his lris paten appunctuat est.

Et Ulterius de uberior gracia nostra ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris volumus ac pro nobis heredibus et Successoribus nostris per presentes concedimus pefat gubernator et Successoribus suis qd de cetero impm habeant cōe sigillum ad negotia sua et ceter in his lris nostris paten express seu specificat seu aliquam inde parcell tangen seu concernen deseruitur Et ipsi gubernator per nomen gubernatoꝝ possessionum reuenc et bonor libere schole gramatical Edwini Ebor Archiepi infra poch de hawkesheade in Cōm lanc plitare et implitari prosequi defendere et defendi respondere et responderi possint et valeant in omnibus et singulis causis querelis accionibus realibus psonalibus et mixtis cuiuscunq3 generis fuerint siue nature in quibuscunq3 placeis locis et Cūr nostris ac placeis locis et Cūr hered et Successorum nostroꝝ ac in placeis locis et Cūr āl quoꝝcunq3 coram quibuscunq3 Justiciar et Iudicibus ecclesiasticis et secular infra Regnu nostrum Anglie vel alibi et ad ea ac ad omnia et singula āl faciend agend recipiend et exequend adeo plene libere et integre ac in tam amplis modo et forma prout ceter ligei nostri psone hilēs et capaces in lege infra idem Regnum nostrum Anglie faciant et facere poterant in Cūr placeis et locis predict et coram Iuticiār et judic supradict. **Ac Ulterius** de uberior gracia nostra ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes damus et concedimus pro nobis heredibus et Successoribus nostris pefat Edwino Ebor Archiepō pro et durān termino vite natural ipsius Edwini et post ejus decessum Samueli fil et hered apparent ipius Edwini pro termino vite ipsius Samuelis plenam potestatem et auctoritatem nominand et appunctuand pedagogum schole predict tociens quociens eadem schola de pedagogo vac fuēr, Et si pedagogus schole predict illiterat vel aliter minime idoneus pro aliqua causa quacunq3 fore videbitur vel seipm non bene gesserit in Offic pedagogi qd tunc et tociens bene liceat et licebit pefat gubernator schole predict pro tempore existen cum assensu et consensu Epī Cestr pro tempore existen eundem pedagogum ita illiterat aut pro aliqua causa minime idoneum a loco vel offic pedagogi illius expellere et amouere, et unum

alium probiorem et magis idoneum in pedagogum schole predict eligere nominare et preficere in loco ipsius sic expulsi siue amoti existen, Et hoc tociens quociens casus sic acciderit Et qd predict Edwinus Ebor Archiepus duran vita sua natural faciet et facere valeat et possit idonea et salubria statuta et ordinac in script concnen et tangen ordinac gubernac et direccoem pedagogi et scholar schole predict pro tempore existen, Ac stipendii et salarii eiusdem pedagogi ac omnia alia quecunq3 eandem scholam vel ordinem gubernac direccoem aut disposicionem predict pedagogi vel reddit et Reuencionn predict aut eo3 alicuius concernen, Que quidem statuta et ordinac sic fiend volumus et concedimus et per presentes precipimus inuolabitiliter obseruari de tempore in tempus imppm. **Et Preferea** de uberiori gracia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes damus et concedimus pro nobis heredibus et Successoribus nostris prefat modernis gubernatoribus et Successor suis plenam potestatem et auctoritatem post mortem predict Edwini et prefat Samuel perpetuis temporibus duratur cum assensu et consensu Epi Cestr pro tempore existen nominand assignand et appunctuand pedagogum schole predict tociens quociens eadem schola vacua fuer de pedagogo, Et qd ipsi Gubernator et Successores sui post mortem predict Edwini Ebor Archiepi et prefat Samuel Sands cum assensu et consensu Epi Cestr predict pro tempore existen de tempore in tempus facient et facere valeant et possint idonea et saluberrima statuta et ordinac in script concernen et tangen ordinac gubernac et direccoem pedagogi et scholar schole predict pro tempore existen ac stipend et salar eiusdem pedagogi ac omnia al quecunq3 eandem scholam vel ordinac gubernac preseruac et disposicoem reddit et reuencionn ad sustentacoem eiusdem schole appunctuat et appunctuand aut aliquo tempore imposter hend siue perquirend tangen vel concernen, Ita qd ordinacoēs et statuta pdict non sint contrar ad statuta et ordinacoēs dicti Edwini fact vel fiend. Que quidem statuta et ordinac sic fiend volumus concedimus imutabiliter obseruari de tempore in tempus imppm. **Et Ulterius** de uberiori gracia nra dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes damus et concedimus prefat gubernator dicte libere schole gramatical dicti Edwini Ebor Archiepi infra poch de hawkesheade predict et successoribus suis licenciam nostram specialem libamq3 et licitam facultatem et

auctoritatem hēnd recipiend et perquirend eis et eoꝝ Successoribus imppm ad sustentacionem et manntenc schole predict tam de nobis heredibus et Successoribus nostris qm de pefat Edwino Ebor Archiepo hered executor vel assign suis vel de āl quibuscumqꝝ pson et āl psona quacunqꝝ maner mesuag terr tenement Rectorias decim et āl hereditament quecunqꝝ infra Regnum Anglie seu alibi infra Dnia nostra dumodo non excedant dcm clarum annuū valorem trigint librar bone et legalis monete Anglie ultra omnia onera et repris ac dumodo non tenentur de nobis in Capite nec per seruicium militare nec de aliqua alia psona siue aliquibus āl psonis per seruicium militar Statut de terr et tenement ad mann mortuam non ponend. Aut aliquo āl statuto actu ordinac seu prouisione aut aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacunqꝝ in contrar inde habit fact edit ordinac seu prouis in aliquo non obstan. **Et Volumus** ac per presentes ordinamus qd omnia exit reddit et reuene omniu predict terrarum tenementoꝝ et possessionum dand et assignand ad sustentacoem pedagogi aut schole predict ut predcm est de tempore in tempus conntantur ad sustentac predict pedagogi et schole predict pro tempore existen et ad sustentac et manntenc terrar tenementoꝝ et possessionum predict et non aliter nec ad aliquos al usus siue intencoes. **Et Volumus** ac per presentes concedimus pefat gubernator et Successoribus suis qd quandocunqꝝ contiger aliquem eoꝝ gubnatt schole pd existen obire vel a loco et Officio gubernator schole predict pro aliqua causa rationabili amoueri qd tunc et tociens bene liceat et licebit ceter gubernator schole pdict et Successoribus suis seu maiori numero eoꝝ gubernator ad tunc supuiuen vel remanen vnn āl melior et magis probiorem et discretum virum in gubernator et ad Officium illud eligere nominare et peficere loco ipsius sic morien vel amoti existen et hoc tocies quociens casus sic accideret aut requiret. **Et Volumus** ac per presentes concedimus pefat gubernator qd heant et habebunt has literas nostras patentes sub magno Sigillo nostro Anglie debito modo fact et sigillat absqꝝ fine seu feod magno vel pvo nob in hanaperio nostro seu alibi ad usum nostrum proinde quoquo modo reddend soluend vel faciend. **Eo Qd Expressa Mencio** de vero valore annuo aut de aliquo alio valore vel certitudine premissorum siue eoꝝ alicuius aut de aliis donis siue concessionibus per nos seu per aliquem progenitoꝝ siue predecessoꝝ nostroꝝ pefat Gubernatoribus ante hec tempora fact in presentibus minime fact existit, Aut aliquo statuto actu ordinacoe

prouisione proclamacoe siue restriccionē in contrarium inde ante hac
fact edit ordinat siue prouis, Aut aliqua alia re causa vel matia
quacumq; in aliquo non obstaⁿ **In Cuius rei** testimonium has
litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes **Teste** me ipa apud Grenewiche
decimo die Aprilis Anno regni nostri vicesimo septimo
per bre de priuato sigillo et de dat pd aucte pliamen

Powle

Three years elapsed, during which no doubt negotiations were being conducted by the founder and the Governors he had appointed, for the acquisition of certain estates with which he purposed endowing the school; and on the 1st of April, 1588, only three months before his death, he issued his statutes and rules for the management of the school. Like the Letters Patent these still are preserved at the Grammar School, and are of such great interest that we give here a verbatim and literatim copy. They are carefully written in a vellum roll of pages, the leaves of which measure ten inches by fourteen inches, and are indented at the top and side edges. The statutes themselves occupy pages five to eighteen inclusive, but there are a good many blank leaves to contain the affirmations of new governors as they are appointed. The Archbishop's signature is not appended, probably because of failing health; but we find instead that of his son Samuel, who concluded the endowment.*

To all Xt'en People, to whom this pnte wrytinge Quadruptyte
indented of the ffoundacon of one free Grammer Schole
wthⁿ the pishe of Hawksheade, in the countye of Lancaster shall
come.

Edmyn Sands by the puidence of god Archbushoppe of
Yorke, Primate of England and Metropolitan, Sendethe gretinge
in o' lord god evelastinge

* The only publication in which, so far as we know, these statutes have ever been printed is Abingdon's "Cathedral Church of Worcester," 1717, where the copy used was one in the possession of Thomas Rawlinson, F.R.S., in which all contractions were expanded, and spelling brought up to date. It does not appear that the statutes have ever been printed locally, and thus put into the hands of the parishioners, though as amended under the 1835 scheme, they certainly were. The present transcript has been made with the greatest care by the writer, who believes he now places for the first time a verbatim copy of the original statutes in the hands of the inhabitants of Hawkshead.

Wheras our Sou'eigne ladye Elizabeth the Queens Ma^{tie}, that now ys: Att the humble peticon of me the said Edwyn Archbushope of Yorke By her highnes Lres Patents under the great Seale of England, Bearinge date att Grenwiche the tenthe day of Aprill in the Twentie and seaventh yeare of her ma^{ty} raigne **That** graunted, and Ordayned, **That** from hence forthe ther shoulde be one gramm^r Schole wthin the pishe of Hawksheade in the Com^{on} of Lancast^r afforesaid; And that Samuell Sands Xpofer Sands Adam Sands, gentillme Willm Sowrey, Barnarde Benson, Rowland Nycholson, Thomas Rawlinson, and James Taylor yeomen, shoulde be Gouⁿors of the possessions, Revenews, and goodes of the said Schole, and shoulde be one Bodie Corporate, and polytique for eu^r by the name of the gouⁿors of the possessions, revenews, and goodes of the said ffree gramm^r Schole, and that they the said Gouⁿors, shoulde haue ppetualle Succession, and by the same name shoulde be psons, able and capable in law, to receive Mannors, landes tenem^{ts}, and heredytam^{ts}, As well of her Ma^{ty}, her heirs and successors, as of me the said Edwyn Archbushope of Yorke, or of anie other pson or persons, Soe the said lands tents, and heredytam^{ts} exceade not the yeerlie value of Thirtye poundes of lawfull monie of England, aboue all reprises, And soe that the same lands, tents, and heredytam^{ts}, be not holden of her Ma^{ty} in Capite, no^r by Knights Service, nor of anie other pson, or psons by Knights Service, ffor the Sustentacon, and Mayntenaunce of the said Schole, And that the said Gouⁿors of the possessions, Revenews. goods and Chattells of the said Schole, should have a Comon Seale, And that I the said Edwyn Archbushope of Yorke, duringe my naturall lyffe, shoulde, and may make, and ordayne Statutes, and Ordinauncs in wrytinge, touchinge, and concrninge the well orderinge, direcon, and gou^m of the Scholemaster, and Schollers of the said Schole for the tyme beinge, And as concⁿinge the Stypende & Sallarie of the said Scholemaster, and all other things concⁿinge the said schole, or the well gou^mt, Orderinge, direcon, or dysposinge of the said Scholem^r or of the Rents, renews, and goods of the afforesaid Schole, As by the said lres pattents more att Large yt dothe and maie appeare. **Know ye** that I the said Edwyn Archbushop of Yorke, By vertue of the foresaid lres pattents, by this pnte wrytinge, **doe** constytute, ordayne, erecte, establyshe, make, and declare the ffoundacon, errecon, rules and ordinauncs of the foresaid ffree

Gramm^r Schole in Hawkshead afforesaid, as hereafter ensewethe,
That is to saie

- 1 **Firste I Ordayne Constitute make** establishe and erecte
That one ppetuall, and ffree Schole of Gramm^r, from hence-
forthe be in Hawksheade afforesaid, Of one Scholemaster, and
his Successors in one howse ther, for that purposse by me puided,
and soe to contynew from one Scholem^r to another in succession
for eu^r. To teache gramm^r, and the pryncyple of the Greeke
tongue, wth other Scyences necessarie to be taughte in a gramm
schole The same to be taughte in the said schole freele, wthout
takinge anie Stipende, wage or other exaccoⁿ of the Schollers,
or of anie of them resortinge to the said Schole to learne,
w^{ch} said Schole shall from henceforthe be called for eu^r **The
ffree Grammer Schole of Edwyn Sands Archbushope
of Yorke**, in Hawkshead afforesaid, according to the foresaid
graunte and Lycence from her Maiestie.
- 2 **Also** I doe Constytute, electe, nointe, ordaine, and appointe
Peter Magson m^r of arte Scholem^r of the said gramm^r Schole,
And ffurthur I doe give to the said Peter Magson the said
Rowme and Office of Scholemastershippe in Hawksheade
afforesaid. To have and to holde the said office and Rowme
of Scholem^rshippe to the said Peter Magson, and his
successors, successivlie after him to be Chosen Scholemasters
of the same Schole, accordinge to the Constitucons and Orders
hereafter menconed, And by me the said Archbushoppe here-
after to be declared ordayned, or made at anie tyme duringe
my lyffe.
- 3 **Also** I ordayne, will, and declare by these pnts, That I the
said Edwyn Archbushoppe of Yorke, duringe my lyffe naturall,
And after my decease, Samuell Sands, my sonne duringe his
lyffe, shall have the noincon, donacon, guifte and graunte of
the said office and Rowme of Scholemastershippe, or Schole-
master of the said ffree Schole, when and soe often, as the
same shall become voide by deathe, deprivacon, or otherwysse
to giue, graunte, and dysposse the same to suche pson, and
persons, as shalbe apte, and able therunto, accordinge to the
Ordinaunce herein declared and hereafter by me to be declared,
and after my decease, and the deathe of the said Samuell

Sands, the gounors of the foresaid fre gramm^r schole for the tyme beinge, or the moste pte of them, wth the assente of the Bushoppe of Cheister for the tyme beinge, shall for eu^r have the nomynacon, donacon, guyfte, and graunte of the said Office and Rowme of Scholemastershippe, or Scholemaster of the said ffree Schole in Hawksheade, when, and soe often as the same shall become void, by deathe depryvacon or otherwyse, giue and gr^{te} the same to suche pson, and psons as shalbe apte, and able therunto, accordinge to the Ordnauncs herein declared, and hereafter by me to be declared.

- 4 **Alsoe** I Ordayne and appoynte that the said Scholemaster shalbe well sene and have good understandinge in the Greeke and Latyne tongues, and shall teache and informe the same to suche schollers of the same schole, as shalbe most meete and apte for the same, accordinge to the dyscrecion of the said Scholemaster, And that the said Scholemaster, before he shall begyne to teache the said Schole (after my decease) shalbe allowed by the Ordinarie of the place for the tyme beinge, accordinge to the Statute in that case puided.
- 5 **Alsoe** I ordayne and constytute, that the said Scholemaster of the said schole, and his successors for eu^r, shall haue under him, one usher in the foresaid Schole, to be an usher in the said schole to teache suche Children and Schollers in the said Schole of the loweste fformes, as to him shalbe appoynted by the said scholemaster, and his successor And that the said usher shalbe chosen from tyme to tyme by the said Scholemaster and gounors of the said schole, or the moste pte of them, for the tyme beinge, And alsoe that uppon anie mysbehauour to be Comytted by the said usher, yt shalbe lawfull for the said Scholemaster and gouⁿors, or the most pte of them, to depryve the said usher, and at ther pleasure to appointe another in his place, as affore ys said, And yf the foresaid Scholemaster shall fortune to dye, then the usher of the said Schole for the tyme beinge, shall teache the Schollers in the said Schole, as Master therof, untill ther be a Scholemaster placed in the said Rowme and Office to exercyse the same accordinge to the Ordinauncs, and ffoundacon

of the said Schole, And the said usher soe teachinge in the said vacacon tyme, shall duringe the same tyme appoynte one scholler of the same Schole to be an usher under him, w^{ch} scholler soe teachinge as usher shall haue for the said tyme he shall teache as usher, the Stypende and allowaunce belonginge to the usher, And the said usher to haue soe longe as he teachethe as Master, the stypende and allowaunce belonginge to the said Scholemaster. The w^{ch} somes of monye shalbe paide to the said usher teachinge as master, and scholler teachinge as usher by the said gou'nors, and ther successors for the tyme beinge, as before ys expressed. Provided allwaies, that after my decease, and the decease of the saide Samuell Sandes my sonne, yf the foresaid gou'nors of the foresaid free Schole, and ther Successors for the tyme beinge, wth the Consente of the Bushoppe of Cheister for the tyme beinge, doe not give and graunte the said Scholemastershippe wthin the space of Thirtie daies, nexte after the Avoidaunce thereof, to one apte and able pson, accordinge to the Ordinauncs afforesaid, That then the Bushopp of the dyocesse of Cheister for the tyme beinge, alone, shall haue the guifte, graunte, and dysposytion of the said Office and Rowme of Scholemastershippe for that tyme, soe that the said Bushope for the tyme beinge, give and graunte the same wthin Thirtie daies, next after the foresaid Thirtie daies, appointed to the foresaid gou'nors of the said Schole; and yf the said Bushope of Cheister for the tyme beinge, doe not giue and graunte the said Scholemastershippe wthin the said Thirtie daies so lymtyed unto him as before ys said to one able pson, accordinge to the Ordinauncs afforesaid, That then the Deane and Chapter of Chester afforesaid for the tyme beinge, shall haue the guifte and graunte, of the said Office and Rowme of Scholemastershippe for that tyme, And soe from tyme to tyme as often as anie suche defaulte as afforesaid shall happen to be.

- 6 Also I ordayne, and constytute, that the said Scholemaster, and hys successors, for the tyme beinge, shall eu'ie workedaie, betweene the Annunciation of the blessed virgyn Marye, and S^r Mychaell Th archangell, be in the said schole, and begyn to teache at six of the Clocke in the Morninge, or at the

furthestē within one halfe houre after, and soe to Contynewe untill Eleven of the Clocke in the forenoone, and to begyne agayne at One of the Clocke in the afternoone, and soe to Continew, untill ffive of the Clocke at night, And eu'ie work-daie betweene the ffeaste of Mychillmas, and the Annūciacon of the blessed virgyn, to begine to teache at seaven of the Clocke in the morninge, or w^{hin} halfe an howre after at the furthestē, and soe to Continew untill Eleven of the Clocke before Noone, and then to begine schole agayne, at halfe an howre before One of the Clocke in the afternoone, and soe to Contynewe untill ffowre of the Clocke at nighte, duringe all w^{ch} tymes, I will, that the scholemaster shalbe presente in the schole wth the usher, and shall teache all suche good Authours, w^{ch} doe Conteyne honeste Precepts of vertue, and good Lyterature, for the better education of youthe, And shall once eu'ie weeke at the leaste, instructe, and examyne his schollers in the Pryncyples of trewe Religion, to the ende, they maie the better knowe, and feare god, And that the said Scholemaster, and usher shall not use of Custome to be absente from the foresaid schole, duringe the tymes afforesaid, nor wthdrawe themselues from thence, but onelie for and uppon honeste, necessarie, and reasonable Causes, and that yt shall not be lawfull for the said Scholemaster or usher to be absente from the said schole, aboue six weeks at one, or seu'all tymes in the whole yeere uppon necessarye busines, Excepte they obtayne the specyll Lycence of the said gou'nors, or the most pte of them, for the tyme beinge, Soe that the Scholemaster and usher be not bothe absente at one tyme.

- 7 **Also** I ordayne and Constytute, that certayne godlye Prayers hereafter sett downe and ymedyatlie followinge in these Constytucons, be made in the said schole by the scholemaster for the tyme beinge, the usher and schollers of the same schole, eu'ie mornynge before the said scholemaster, and usher begyne to teache the said schollers and everie eveninge ymediatlie before the breakinge up of the said schole. And eu'ie day before they goe to dynner to singe a Psalme in Meter in the said schole.

A praier For the Morninge.

Most mightie god, and m'cyfull ffather, we sinners by nature, yett thy Children by grace, here pstrate before thy devyne Ma^{tie},

doe acknowledge our Corrupcon in nature, by reason of our synne to be suche, that we ar not able as of our selues to thinke one good thought much lesse able to pffytte in good learninge and lyterature, and to come to the knowledge of thy sonne Chryste o' sauour, excepte yt shall please the of thie great grace and goodnes to illumynate o' understandinge, to strengthen o' feable memories, to instructe us by thy holie spyritt, and soe to powre upon us thy good guifts of grace, that we may learne to knowe and knowe to practyse those thyngs in these o' studies, as may most tende to the glorie of thy name, to the profitt of thy Church, and to the pformance of our Chrystyan dewtie, Heare us O god, graunt this our Peticon, and blysse o' studies O heavenlye ffather, for thy sonne Jesus Chrystes sake, in whose name we call uppon the, and saye O our father &c.

A prayer for the Queenes Ma^{tie}.

O lord our heavenlie father, highe and myghtie kinge of kinges, lord of lords, the onlie ruler of Prynces, w^{ch} doest fom thie throne beholde all the dwellers uppon the earthe, most hartelie we beseche the wth thy favour to beholde our moste gracious Sou'eigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth, and soe replenishe her wth the grace of thie holie spirytte, that she may allwaie inclyne to thy will and walke in thy waye, indue her plentifullie wth heavenlie gifts, graunte her in healthe and welthe, longe to live, strenghe her, that she maie vanquishe and ou'come all her Enymes, and finallie after this lyffe, she may attayne eu'lastinge ioye and felicitye, throughe Jesus Chryste o' Lorde Amen.

Eveninge praier att breakinge up of the Schole.

Most gracious god and most m'cyfull father we acknowledge how muche we ar bownde to thy divine Ma^{tie} for all those great guifts and manifolde m'cyes w^{ch} thou of thy mere grace and favour hathe bestowed uppon us, as well for o' Eleccion, Creacon, Redempcon, Justification, and sanctificacon, wth all other good giftes of bodie and mynde, and what else soeu' we haue of thy grace and fauour we haue receyued yt. As alsoe for that thou haste moved the mynde, and stirred up the harte of Edwyn Archbushopp of Yorke our ffounder to purchase and guide

this free gramm^r Schole for us for o^r educacon, and breedeinge in good literature and learninge. Graunt O god that we may eu^r be thankfull for the same, and giue us grace not to abuse this great gifte of mercie; but that we may soe applie o^r studies holpen and directed by thy holie spirit, that we maie increase in all good knowledge and learninge to the glorie and prayse of thy name. Graunte this O god for thy sonne Jesus Chryst's sake o^r onelie Redem^r and savi^r

All hono^r glorie and praise be giuen to the most m^cifull father and gracious god, for all thy louinge kindnes and manifolde graces powred downe vpon us, Namelie that yt hath pleased the to p^rtecte us this daie from all daingers of the Enimie bodelie and ghostlie, and to increase thy giftes of knowledge, and godlines in us. Graunte us O good god to loue the for these soe great m^cies, still to growe in thankfullnes more and more towards the: And for soe muche as thou haste appointed the Nighte to reste in, as the daie to travill, giue unto us suche quiete and moderate sleepe, as may strengthen our weake bodies to beare those labours wherunto thou shalte appoint them. Suffer not the Prince of darknes to preuaile in the darknes of the nght, nor for eu^r againste us: but watche thou still ou^r us wth thine Eye, and garde us wth thy hand againste all his deceptys, and assaulte, and thoughe o^r bodies doe slepe, make thou our soules to watche, lookinge for the appearinge of the sonne Jesus Chryste that we may be wakinge to mete him in the Cloudes to entre wth him into eternall ioye & blissednes. These things we Craue at thie handes for thy Sonne Christe Jesus sake, to whom wth the and the holie ghoste be rendred all praise glorie and ma^{tie} for eu^r and eu^r Amen.

- 8 **Also** I ordaine, will, and appoynte, that the said scholemaster usher and schollers for the tyme beinge from tyme to tyme shall use, and frequente the Church upon the Sabbothe daie, and holie daies, to heare diuine Seruice, and Sermons, and that the said scholemaster, usher, and schollers, shall sytt together in some conueniente place in the chauncell of the said Church, and that the said scholemaster, and usher for the tyme beinge doe giue good regarde, that the said schollers doe at all tymes

behaue themselues soberlie and reu'endlie in the Churche especiallie duringe the tyme of diuynе seruice and sermons.

9 **Also** I ordayne and Constytute, that yf the aboue said Scholemaster, and his Successors or anie of them, hereafter, intende, goe aboute, attempte, pcure, will assente, or agree to doe or comytt anie herysie, treason, murder, or felonie, that ymediatlie by and uppon suche intente, goeinge aboute, attempte, pcurement, will assent, or agrement wthout and before anie other acte or thinge comytted or done the said office of Scholemastershipe, and the guifte and graunte therof to the said Master soe intendinge, goeinge aboute, attemptinge, pcuringe, willinge, or agreinge as afforesaid to be utterlie voide. And that then yt shalbe lawfull for me duringe my lyffe, and after my decease to and for the said Samuell Sandes duringe his life, and after my decease, and the deathe of the said Samuell Sands, to and for the gou'nors of the foresaid free schole, and their successors or the moste pte of them, with the assente of the Bushope of Chester for the tyme beinge, and after that uppon suche defaulte of them, to and for the said Bushope of Chester for the tyme beinge, and in defaulte of the said Bushope, to and for the Deane and Chapter of Chester as afforesaid, to giue graunte and dysposse the same Office of Scholemastershipe, to one other apte and able pson, accordinge to the trewe meaninge and intente of this pnte ffoundacon, and of those orders and Constytutions in manner and forme as before in these pntes ar lymited and appointed.

10 **Also** I doe ordaine Constytute and will, that yf the said Scholemaster and his successors or anie of them be a comon drunckard, or shalbe remysse or necligente in teachinge the said schollers, or shall haue or use anie ill or notable vice, Cryme offence, or Condiçon, or haue anie suche greuouse dysease, or infirmitie, that he shall not be able and meete therbie to teache the said schole, and that the foresaid gou'nors of the said free Schole for the tyme beinge or the moste pte of them knowinge or beinge informed therof, and upon due Examinaçon therof had and made findinge the same to be trewe. Then I ordaine, will and Constytute, that ymmediatlie uppon the same examinaçon and

offence soe founde as afforesaid, the said Office and Scholemastershippe to be voide, and that yt shalbe lawfull for me the said Archbushoppe duringe my liffe, and after my decease, for the said Samuell Sands my Sonne duringe his lyffe, ffor the foresaid gou'nors of the said free schole and ther successors after our deathes wth the assente of the said Bushoppe of Chester for the tyme beinge and after that to and for the aboue said Bushoppe of Chester for the tyme beinge, and in defaulte of the said Bushoppe, the Deane and Chapter of Chester afforesaid in mann^r and forme before expressed, to giue graunt and dispose the same Rowme and Office of Scholemastershippe, to anie other sufficient, able and apte pson, accordinge to the trewe meaninge and intende of these pnts: declaring in ther said graunte the Cawse of the Avoydaunce of the said office of scholemastershippe. Prouided allwaies, and I ffurthur ordayne Constytute and will, that yf the said scholemaster or his successors, or anie of them, haue done or comytted anye of the Offences, acts, or Crymes laste before menconed, that before he be dysplaced of his said Office of Scholemastershippe, The gou'nors of the said schole for the tyme beinge, or the moste pte of them, openlie before the Stipendarie Mynister of Hawksheade Church afforesaid, and some other honeste psons of the said pyshe shall giue three Monycons or Warnings to the said scholemaster to leaue and amende the said faulte and offence, and betweene eu^{er}ie the said monytions to be one monethe, and not aboue, and yf the said Scholemaster uppon the said monitions or anie of them doe amende or leaue the said ffaulte or offence, then he to Concynewe his place and office of Scholemastershippe, accordinge to the trewe intende and meanynge of these pnte Instytucons and ordinauncs, And yf the said scholemaster shall not reforme, and amend his said faulte, offence, and evill Condictions upon the monycions given as affore ys said: That then the foresaid gou'nors of the foresaid free schole for the tyme beinge or the moste pte of them shall pceade againste the said Scholemaster for the removinge of him from his said Office and place as afore is lymtyed and appointed.

- 11 **Also** I Ordayne, will, and Constytute, that the said Scholemaster and his successors for the tyme beinge, shall breake

uppe ther Schole, and teachinge onelie at two tymes in the yeare, That ys to saie, One full weeke nexte before Xpm̄as, and to begine to teache againe the nexte working daie after the Twelfte daie of Xpm̄as, And shall breake upe againe, One full weeke nexte before Easter and shall begine to teache againe the Mondaie sennytt after Easter, Againste w^{ch} seu'all tymes of breakinge up, the Cheifeste Schollars of the said Schole shall make Oracons, Epistles, verses in latyne or Greeke for ther exercyse that therbie the said Scholemaster maie see how the said schollers haue pyfied.

12 **And furtthur** be yt provided, and alsoe I ordayne and Constitute that yt shalbe lawfull for me the said Archbushoppe of Yorke, att all tymes duringe my naturall lyfe soe often as I shall thinke meete and Conueniente, to Chaunge, or remove, the aboue said Scholemaster, and all and eu'ie his successors, and all ushers of the said Schole from ther said Offyces and Rowmes, and to increase, inlarge abate or dymynyshe the seu'all Stypends of the said Scholemaster and usher, And alsoe to alter, Chaunge adde, dymynyshe or make anew att my will and pleasure anie of the Ordinauncs and Constytucons beforesaid or hereafter menconed, or anie pte therof, Anye thinge beforesaid to the Contrarye therof in aniewyse notwthstandynge.

13 **Also** I Ordayne, will, and Constitute, that the usher of the foresaid Schole shalbe obedyent to the Master therof, and that all schollers shalbe obedyent to all good and lawfull Statuts, and Ordinauncs now made, and hereafter to be made, touchinge the good gou'm^t, and orderinge of the said schole, and shalbe of honeste and vertuous Conversacon, obedyent to the Master and usher in all things touchinge good mann's, and learninge, bothe in the schole, and ellswher, and shall Continuallie use the latyne tongue, or the Greeke tongue wthin the Schole, as they shalbe able. Alsoe they shall use noe weapons in the schole as sworde dagger, waster, or other lyke to fighte, or brawle wthall, or anie unlawfull gammynge in the schole., They shall not haunte Tau'nes, Aylehouses, or playenge at anie unlawfull games, as Cardes, dyce, Tables, or suche lyke. Alsoe they shall kepe ther howres in cominge to the schole, before in

these Statuts menconed. Alsoe in the absense of the master the said schollers shalbe Obediente to the usher, and to suche Preposytors as the Master shall appoynte, touchinge good orders in the schole, All w^{ch} Statuts now made, and hereafter to be made by me the said Edwyn Archbushope of Yorke they shall invyolablie kepe, and obserue uppon payne of expulcon from the foresaid schole, after three warnyngs had and given, Concⁿyng the p^rmysses by the scholemaster of the said schole for the tyme beinge, or by the usher therof, in vacation tyme, when ther is noe master of the said Schole. And the said scholler or Schollers soe expulced shall not be receyued into the Schole agayne, wthout humble suyte, and earnest petycion, made to the gouⁿors, and master, of his or ther reconciliacon.

- 14 *Also* I ordayne, Constytute, and appoynte that the gouⁿors of the said schole, and ther successors, from tyme to tyme shall well and sufficientlie repayre, sustayne, upholde, preserue, and mayntayne the same Schole, and Schole howse and the said Messuage or Customarie tenemente, and the howses, buildings, and ffences of the same wthall needfull Reparacons from tyme to tyme as often as neede shall require, and shall pryde that all Comodyties, and Revenewes assigned and belonginge for the better preseruacon, and Contynuaunce of the said schole, be ymployed to suche uses, intents, and purposses as appeareth in her Ma^{ties} lres Patents touchinge the Erecon, gouⁿance, and p^rseruacon of the said Schole and as ar menconed, expressed, lymited, and appoynted in these Ordinaunces and Constytucons.

- 15 *Also* I ordayne, Constytute, and appoynte, that the said Gouⁿors shall yeerelie paie, or cause to be paide to the Scholemaster of the said schole, for the tyme beinge, and his Successors, the Some of Twentie poundes of lawfull monye of Englande for his yeerelie Stypende, or sallarie, and to the usher of the said Schole for his yeerelie Stypende, the some of Three poundes six shillings Eighte peece of like lawfull monie of England Att the ffeaste of the Annunciacon of the blessed virgyn Marie, And St Mychaell Th archaungell, by even porcons. The said seu^rall Stipends to be yeerelie paide to the said Scholemaster, and usher of the Rents,

Revenewes, yssues, and pffitts of suche Messuags, landes, and tenemt^s, as I haue Conveyed and assured unto the foresaid Gou'nors, and ther Successors for the Sustentacon, and mayntenaunce of the said Scholemaster, usher, and Schole. And yf the foresaid Peter Magson now pnte Scholem^r, of the foresaid Schole, duringe suche tyme as he shall Contynewe in the Office and Rowme of Scholemastershippe ther, be desirous to haue in his possession and occupacon One Messuage, or Customarie Tenemt, and certayne landes and groundes to the same Messuage belonginge lyinge and beinge at Hawksheade Churchesteele in ffurnesfells in the Countie of Lancaster afforesaid, or the usinge, demysinge, or lettinge of the same w^{ch} Messuage and Tenemt wth the lands, and grounds to the same belonginge, I latelie purchased of one Will^m Sowrey, and ar by me assured unto the foresaid Gou'nors, and ther Successors, for the sustentacon and mayntaynaunce of the said Scholemaster, usher, and Schole Then I ordayne, will, and appoynte, That the said Peter Magson now pnte Scholemaster ther, duringe suche tyme as he shall Conteynewe Scholemaster ther, shall haue the usage, occupacon, lettinge, and demysinge of the same, And ou^r, and besides the same Tente shall have yeerelie paide unto him; by the foresaid gou'nors, and ther successors for the tyme beinge, Att suche dayes and tymes, and in suche mann^r and forme as before in these pntes ys declared, Onelie the some of Thirteene poundes, six shillings eighpeence of lawfull monie of England, and noe more, Duringe all w^{ch} tyme as he the said Peter Magson now Scholemaster ther, Shall haue the usage, occupacon, lettinge, or demysinge of the said messuage, or Tente, The said Peter Magson now Scholemaster ther, shall well and trewlie from tyme to tyme paie, or cause to be paide to the Lords or Lords (*sic*) of the same, for tyme beinge, All and all mann^r of Rents, ffynes, Gressomes, heryotts, Customes dewtyes and services due, or of righte accustomed for the same, Att the ffeasts, daies, and tymes as the same shalbe dewe, and payable, And shall alsoe well, and sufficientlie repaire, upholde mayntaine, and defende the said Messuage or Customarie Tente, and the houses, buildinges, walls, hedges, and fences of the same, wth all mann^r of needfull and necessarie Reparations, from tyme to tyme as often as neede shall require,

16 **Also** I doe Ordayne and appoynte, that the said gou'nors, and ther successors or the moste pte of them, shall at the leaste twyse eu'ie yeere, and soe often besydes as neede shall require, vysitt the said Schole, and shall make dyligent inquirie from tyme to tyme, whether the Scholemaster, usher and Schollers of the said Schole, doe ther dewties as becomethe them or noe, and as they shall finde anie thinge amysse, or out of Order they shall redresse, and amende the same pntelie, or soe sone as they Convenientlie can.

17 **Also** I Ordayne and appointe, that the foresaid gou'nors, and ther Successors shall yeerelie appoynte one of themselues by the noiacon of the greateste pte of the said gou'nors to Collecte, and gather upp all the Rents, Revenewes, yssues, and pfitts of all suche Messuags, lands, and Tents, as ar by me Conveyed and assured to the said Gouvernors for the mayntenaunce of the said Scholemaster, usher, and Schole And that suche pson or psons soe to be appoynted Collector of the Rents yssues, and profytts of the said Messuags, landes, and Tents, shall before he enter to the Collecon or Receyvinge of the Rents, Revenewes and pfitts of the same, enter into bonde by obligacon to the residue of the said gou'nors and ther successors, wth one or two sufficient suerties to be bounde wth him or them, to make a juste, and trewe accompt, pamente, and satysfaccon to the said gou'nors and ther successors for the tyme beinge or the most pte of them, of all the said Rents Revenewes, yssues, and profytts of the said landes, tents, and oth^r the p'mysse, when the said gou'nors or the most pte of them shall require the same. And yf the said pson soe appoynted as afforesaid, to Collecte and gather upe the said Rents, yssues, and pfitts of the said landes, uppon reasonable requeste to him made by the said gou'nors or the most pte of them shall refuse to make suche accompte, pamente, and satysfaccon as afforesaid. That then yt shalbe lawfull for the reste of the said gou'nors, or the moste pte of them, to depose and dysplace suche pson soe offendinge from his office, or place of gou'nor of the said schole, accordinge to ther good dyscreations, and to pceede to an new elecon of an other gou'nor, accordinge to the order, and forme sett downe in the Queens ma^{ty} lres patents.

- 18 *Also* I furthur Ordayne, Constytute, and appoynte that before anie gou'nor be admytted to the office of gou'norshipe of the foresaid free schole he shall not onelie giue his Consente to the execucon of these statuts and Ordinauncs, but alsoe shalbe sworne to be trewe, and iuste towards the said schole, and to the preservacon, gou'mt, and faithfull sustentacon of the same.
- 19 *Also* I doe furthur Constytute, ordaine, and appoynte, that one stronge and substanciall Chyste, wth three stronge Lockes and Keyes of thre seu'all fashons and makings to the same, be made and placed in some conveniente place in the fore-said Scholehowse, In w^{ch} Chyste, I will and appoynte shalbe saffellie kepte the Queens Ma^{ties} Lres Patents, conteyninge the ffoundacon of the said ffree grammer Schole, And all the Evidences Chers, wrytings, escripts, munym^{is}, Statuts, Constytucons, and Ordinauncs, touchinge, Conc'ninge, appteyninge, or belonginge to the said grammer Schole, Or to the lands, Tents, and heredytam^{is} assured and Conveyed to the gou'nors of the said schole, or hereafter to be Conveyed, and assured to the gou'nors of the said schole, and ther successors for the use supportacon, and mayntenaunce of the said Scholemaster, usher, and Schole: And alsoe all suche Surplusags, and su'plus of monye arysinge, Comynge or growynge of the Rents, Revenewes, yssues, and pffytts, of all suche Messuags, landes, and tents as ar by me Conveyed and assured, or hereafter by me, or anie other shalbe Conveyed, and assured to the said gou'nors, and ther successors for the mayntenaunce of the foresaid Scholemaster, usher, and Schole. w^{ch} surplusage of monie, I ordaine and appointe to be bestowed, and ymployed for the mainteynaunce of the scholehowse, and for the defendinge of anie suite w^{ch} shall or may at any tyme hereafter aryse, or growe, Conc'ninge the foresaid Messuags landes, tents, and other the p'myssees aboue menconed. And that the Scholemaster of the said schole and his successors, for the tyme beyng shall haue the kepinge of one of the said three keyes, and the two fyrste named gou'nors of the fore-said schole for the tyme beinge, and ther successors to haue ether of them one of the said Keyes in ther Custodie, Soe

as the said Chiste may not be opened, wthout the Consente of all the said three psons, soe named and appoynted as ys afforesaid.

20 **Also** I Ordaine, will, and appoynte, that the said gou'nors for the tyme beinge, and ther successors, and assignes at all tymes hereafter, and from tyme to tyme duringe suche tyme as they or anie of them shall haue the demysinge lettinge, settinge, or occupacon of the said Messuage, or Customarie Tente before menconed wth the landes to the same belonginge, shall well and trewlie satisfie, Contente, and paie, or cause to be trewlie satisfied, Contented, paide, and answered to the Lord or Lordes of the said Messuage, and Customarie Tente aboue said, All suche Rents, ffynes, gressomes, heryotts suits, seruice and Customes as shall hereafter from tyme to tyme be dewe and Payable for the same. Att suche ffeasts, daies, and tymes as the same shalbe due. And shall alsoe paie for the ffreholde landes, and Teñts afforesaid, to the Cheife Lord or Lordes of the same for the tyme beinge All suche Rents, suits, service, and Customes as of righte ar due and payable for the same, and att the ffeasts and tymes when the same ar due to be paide

21 **And lastlie** I will, ordaine, and Comaund, That all the Ordinauncs and Constytucons, before in these pnts declared expressed and sett downe for and concerninge the good order, and gou'mente of the said Scholemaster, Usher, and Schole, and the landes, Tents and heredytams to the same belonginge, and apptayninge be trewlye firmelie, and inviolablie observed, and kepte, in eu'ie poynte by the foresaid Gou'nors of the foresaid schole for the tyme beinge, and ther successors, and alsoe by the master, usher, and Schollers of the same for the tyme beinge, and eu'ie of them, wthout violacon, or infringing of the same orders, and Constytucons, or anie of them, Accordinge to my good meaninge, and accordinge to the truste by me reposed in the said Gou'nors, scholemaster, and Usher **In Wittnes Whereof** all these Constytucons and ordinauncs afforesaid The w^{thin} named Edwyn Archbushope of Yorke hathe Caused them to be wrytten, and ingrossed in these books indented the ffirste daie of Aprill in the Thirtethe

yeere of the Raigne of our said sou'eigne ladie Elizabeth, By the grace of god of England, ffrance, and Ireland Queene defender of the faithe &c. And hathe alsoe caused the psons hereafter named to subscribe ther names therunto wth ther owne hands as witnesses therof

Sa : Sandys*

Robt Briggs

Arthur Best

The Oath prescribed by my lord of
Chester for the Gouerners of the
free schoole of Hauxehead

I B. C. doe sweare that I haue not giuen Any thing, nor haue Indirectly laboured, to be Made Gou'n^r of this Schoole, And I will Dilligently and faithfully to the uttermost of myne Abillity keep by my selfe and cause to be kept by others (as much as I can) inuoliably All these Statutes, and I will not doe any Act at Any tyme which I shall knowe, beleue, or thinke wilbe preiudiciall to the good of the said Schoole, And I will not Appropriate convert or Apply to myne use, or to the use of any of myne, any part of the profittes of the Reuenewes giuen to the said Schole, But will doe my best to improue and encrease them to the best Aduantage of the Schoole, Schoolem's and Ushers in ppetuity, and to such Ends onely as are sett downe in the foundation, and in these present Statutes, and noe otherwse.†

Then follow fifty-six signed certificates of the oaths taken by different governors down to the time when the 1863 scheme came into force : after which the form was changed. The first reads:—

"This oath was voluntarily taken at Great Lever the xvjth day of ffebruary 1631 in the pnce of ye Lord Bp of Chester and francis Magson School Master, by us, who subscribed

Tho Benson

sign Jacobi **B** Braithwait"

* The name has been signed "Sandes," and altered, subsequently and apparently at a later date, to "Sandys."

† This oath is in a different hand to that of the statutes themselves.

In most cases, however, the oaths were taken in Hawkshead in the presence of the vicar and schoolmaster, or of a justice of the peace and one or more of the governors.

The Archbishop died in July the same year, and, although a deed poll was prepared conveying to the school the various properties he had acquired for the purpose, it was not executed, and it devolved upon his son Samuel to complete the foundation, which was accordingly done by deeds dated 10th February, 1588-9. These estates, forming the original endowment, consisted of houses, etc., in Kirkgate and Northgate, in Wakefield, then rented at £5 2s., houses, gardens, etc., in Fynkell Street, in Kendal, then rented at 53s. 4d., house, garden, etc., called Dykehouse Fall in Trumflett and Moseley, with a few acres of land at Arme's Holme, and other property at Trumflett, Bramwythe, Moseley and Sandal, all in Yorkshire. The other part of the endowment was the tenement at Hawkshead Church Stile, which became the school, and certain lands adjoining thereto.

Before entering, as we must do to some extent, into the terrible mismanagement of these properties, which, during the eighteenth century, resulted in reducing the school, by the commencement of the present century, to a condition from which it has never been able to recover, it is worth while to look at some of the few seventeenth century papers and accounts which have been preserved. Those we give first are accounts rendered by two of the governors in 1631, namely, Christopher Sandys and James Braithwaite the elder, of expenses incurred by them on behalf of school business. Both of these documents are from the school chest, and that of Sandys has suffered so from damp that it is in fragments, and we have been compelled to leave gaps where words are missing. They suffice to show, however, that, at this period, the office of governor of Hawkshead School was no sinecure. Long overland journeys on horseback to Wigan, Chester, and the Yorkshire property, haggling with the tenants to get rent, break-down of horses, and other difficulties, all contributed to make their duties anything but

a pleasure. It should also be noticed that one entry in Sandys' account unquestionably refers to some proceeding on the part of Magson, the schoolmaster, in regard to the property, which was unauthorised by the governors, and is the first evidence of the lack of systematic control which eventually led to such bad results.

GOVERNOR'S ACCOUNTS 1631

CHRISTOPHER SANDYS.*

"The second day of March Ano Dom 1631

The account of Christopher Sandys for (a)ll the monie he receiued concerning the schole of Haukshead as allsoe how the same money was disbursed

Receued ffine Pounds ffifteene shillings (for) one yeare rent of the lands in Waikfeeld, And ffine Pounds beinge halfe of the
 . . . tenmt at Triumphlet w^{ch} said fine was the last money belonging to the schoole ed w^{ch}? money was laid up wth the consent of all the gou'nors, and disbursed (as followe)th? To the ushers of the said sch(ole) Pounds six shillings eight peence, To the workeman when he began to git
 . . . es to board the Schoolehouse flore Thirtie shillings

ffor reu'ssing and recalling of the in Yorkeshire† w^{ch} had beene passed and made by M^r Magson then schoolemaster wthout the knowledge of any of the gou'nors, and alsoe for compounding and selleing theire estates of the said lands for the good of the schoole, Thirtie fower shillings seven? peence.

Then two of us gou'nors did goe, to (W)iggan before my lord of Chester, to aquaint him wth ye cause and difERENCE, betwixt M^r Magson dyes then seven shillings, whereof I receiued fve shillings, of my fellow gou'nors Then my lord did appoint a time to here both M^r Magson and us gou'nors before him at Wiggan, Fower gou'nors then went, w^{ch} cost me tenn shillings wth something then paied for writting

* Both this and Braithwaite's accounts have been enclosed in modern sheets of paper and endorsed, probably in 1819 or at the time of the law-suit hereafter to be described. The endorsement of Sandys' account contains this note :—

"The facts hinted at in this paper induced the Bishop of Chester to prescribe an oath to the governors w^{ch} was first taken Feb 16 1631."

On examining the wording of the oath, as given at the end of the statutes, this conclusion appears to us doubtful.

† Beck in his MS. puts the word "lands" in this gap, which, however, must have contained more than one word.

Then we gou'nors were called to Chester before my lord ; and my fellowes intreated me to goe w^{ch} Journey cost me ffifteene shillings and eight shillings for writing and other waies as I aquented my fellowes.

Then uppou a new admonition from my lord we hyred a man wth a letter w^{ch} had twelue shillings and twelue pence writting.

Then, being called to Kendall before M^r Wilkinson at the Visitation aboute the said cause And there atented (*sic*) two daies by Comaund of M^r Wilkinson, we were to make our accompt to M^r Daniell Maiors, how M^r Magson receiued his wadges, for the schoole w^{ch} we did accordinglie, my Chardges about this fwe shillings.

Then the gou'nors being com(anded) to Chester againe James Braithwaite and I was intreated by our fellows uppou w^{ch} Journey my horse fell sicke and James returned backe wth him Journey cost me ffourteene shillings sixpence and James chardges and other beside aboute that busines seven shillings were disbursed for writting at times in the behalfe of us all fwe shillings sixpence

Into Yorkeshire for the rent id as allsoe to se some housses, there fallen into ruine to take course for (the re) peare thereof : and to stay a worke in a stone qu'ell?, w^{ch} a man had ma e . Croft of land belonging to the said schoole for w^{ch} trespasse we agreed (he shou)ld pay ffortie shillings, and leuell the ground againe, Chardges uppou this twelue shillings sixpence. Disburssed as I take it esed twentie two shillings wth the mee
by me

Chr: Sandys."

JAMES BRAITHWAITE, 1631.

"James Braithwaite elder receiued of William hills of Wakefield for stones getting on the backe syde of his house belonging to the Schole lands the summe of

	...	...	...	...	iiij ^l
disbursed oute of ye same					
To M ^r Myles Sands	...	...	...	...	vij ^s
To M ^r Samuell Sands	...	...	...	...
To M ^r Nathaniell Nicolson	...	...	...	...	vij ^s
To M ^r William Rawlinson	...	...	...	...	vij ^s
To James Braithwaite Junio ^r	...	...	...	...	vij ^s
ffor the said James himselfe	...	...	...	...	vij ^s
To M ^r Grige the usher	...	...	...	...	x ^s

Att the intreatie of M^r Nicolson M^r Rawlinson and his neighbour James being his fellowe gouernors of the sayd schole, the said James did trauell seauen dayes in Yorkeshire to Trumphlett and Wakefield for Recieueing the schole Rent, for which seauen dayes trauell man and horse hee thinks i^j^s a day litle enough, yet referrs himselfe to the rest of his fellowes.

Att the Intreatie of his ffellowe Gouernors he traueled these Journeyes as followeth

To the Bp of Chester att Wigan

To Chester and through Cheshire wth M^r Nicolson to where the Deane laid which Journey was xj score myles backwards and forwards

To Leuer to the Bp with M^r Thomas Benson att onother (*sic*) tyme

The next Journey to the Bp att Lancaster

And another Journey to Kendall the Bp of Yorkes officers

Att another tyme M^r Christopher Sands and the sayd James the elder was traueilling towards Chester att Garstange where M^r Sands horse fayled and James Returned backe with him and lent M^r Sands his horse to Chester, which horse through hard trauell was soe ouer sett, that hee neuer did any good after for he lost him afterwards

Another Journey when M^r Dauid Sands had beene in Yorkeshire and could gett noe Rents, they sent the sayd James and he brought all the money that was then due: It was immediately after the death of John Wright.

All these Journeyes hee was requested to trauell by his ffellowe gouerno^s, whoe promissed him that what he trauelled more then his parte, hee should be satisfyed when they renewed any leases or when other Reuenewes should happen oute of the schole lands."

It may be remarked here that Christopher Sandys and James Braithwaite describe the same journey to Chester, and that the latter and Thomas Braithwaite are the first who are recorded in the book of Statutes as having taken at Lever the oath prescribed by the Bishop of Chester.*

The only other documents of the seventeenth century relating to the working of the school (other than legal deeds) which we have come across, are certain accounts kept by Mr. William

* There are other accounts of Robt. Satterthwaite, 1669-1673, but they are rough and less interesting.

Bordley, the third master (1647-1669). These were among a mass of papers kindly placed in our hands by Mr. J. B. Rawlinson, of Graythwaite, whose family have from its commencement had much to do with the school. They give us a further insight into the financial troubles in which apparently the school got so soon implicated, and tell us the same story of long journeys for collecting the rent, and other troubles of the same sort. Some entries are very interesting, such as that which records the breakage of the school key at a "barring out": and, in another place, the poor over-taxed pedagogue waxes truly pathetic when complaining of his poor six weeks' holiday in four years, "and weary of Hawkshead" he contemplates if he cannot "live elsewhere."

ACCOUNTS OF WILLIAM BORDLEY (1647-1669).

March ye 3^d 1651. Recd from the first of March 1650 as followeth

Recd in Whitsunweek

	li	s	d
Inprimis of widdow fulkingham	12	0	0
It of Willm Hill for this yeares rent	2	2	0
It of Tho: Allan in pt of his bill	0	12	6
It at Kendall since feb: 1650	1	13	4
in all	16	7	10
whereof disbursed as followeth			
Inprimis to ye user for three q'ters of	5	0	0
a yeare w th began ffeb: 10 } more			
1650 } ffeb 1651	1	13	4
It to the stone getters in pt of a greater sume	1	0	0
It to Giles Walker in earnest of the bargaine for wrighting			
y ^e barne	0	1	6
It to Tho: Rigg in earnest for his walling the same barne	0	0	6
It for myne oun half yeare wages	4	0	0
It for the leases drawing	13	4	
It spent in going about the seaseing before Candlem:			
1651	0	14	0
It in drinke to the stone leaders	0	1	6
(various items erased)			
It for mosseing and glassing the schoole... ..	0	3	8
It for a new key to the schoole doore the old broke			
at the last barring out	0	0	6
reckoned ffeb 10 1650			
Sum total	15	7	10

here follows an erased statement of
amount "in the hands of me W. Bordley."

Damages sustained by going about the ffree schoole busines
 in Yorkshirc; And medling w^t the Tenmt at ye
 rate of xij^{li} p ann now 4 yeares w^{out} a barne
 Inprimis lost by a mare that I bought of purpose for the li
 first journey 3 0 0
 It of that that old James B: was ord^{er}ed to pay me ... 1 0 0
 It for want of a barne it cannot supposed that I lost
 lesse yearly than 4 0 0
 It It is considerable that I horsed my selfe 8 tymes into
 Yorkshire about the schooles affaires, one of w^{ch}
 tymes I also pcured 2 freindes on their oune
 horses, for all w^{ch} I nev^r reckoned, nor had offered
 a peny beside bare charges spent in travell
 It Add hereunto the daily exclamacons that haue beene
 & are agst me for neglecting ye schoole when I was
 busined meerely concning it
 It As for any negligence or absence about myne oune
 occasions, my worst foes cannot say that in foure
 yeares I have spent 6 weekes, albeit ye schoole
 statutes cūy yeare 6 weeks
 The Rembrance of the p^rmisses (unconsidered &c) hath
 made me weary of Hawkshead, and to try if I can
 live elsewhere.

On another sheet :

Recd of the ffeoffees of the ffree Gramar Schoole of Arch-bipp Sandes
 at Hawkeshead, and of others since August 10 1647 as followeth viz^t.

	li	s	d
Inprimis of the ffeoffees themselves Octob: 25 1647	...	4	19 6
It of Widdow Wright at Whitsund next following	...	5	0 0
It of James Braithw ^t in June last viz ^t 1649	...	8	0 0
It of 3 of the Tennts in Kendall in all	...	2	16 8
It more of John Wright at Christmas 1649	...	10	0 0
It of the Tennts in Wakefield at the same tyme	...	4	10 0
It more of Widdow ffalkingham for Anne Wright then also	...	2	0 0
in all	...	37	6 2

Whereof spent in fetching as followeth viz^t

Inprimis for the 3 first iourneys allowed to me W: B: by the ffeoffees themselues at a form ^t meeting	...	1	4 0
It in charges, the last Christmas viz ^t 1649 for 3 men & 3 horses	...	5	6 11
I: the last time when I went to Trumflet into Yorkeshire 9 dayes & nights	...	0	13 5

It in charges more for this journey now last	1	15	2
It for an arreare of Rents at Hawkeshead to Pollards man when he distrained my goods	1	7	7
It for the distrainers fees	0	6	0
It more rent yet claymed by the same distrainers			
	9	13	1

Required also to be allowed out of the said receipts as
followeth

Inprimis to the W: B for his stipend the first hafe yeare viz ^t from August 10, 1647 till ffeb following	10	0	0
It for himselfe for 3 yeares viz ^t till ffeb 1650	24	0	0
It for the usher 2 yeares & an halfe viz ^t since Turner went from the place	16	13	4
Recd since about Martinmas 1650 of Ann Wright	5	2	6
It of Will ^m Saurey at Wakefield	0	10	6
It now of late of Wakefield	4	19	6
It at Kendall in all, about	6	0	0
Disb. 9 13 1 recd 16 11 6			
34(?) 0 0 38 06 02			16 11 6
			9 13 1
rem 8 15 4 63 13 1 54 17 8			26 4 7

On back of same sheet :

Recd of Anne Wryght since Ap 1642

li
40 0 0

March 17 1650

Recd all the whole stipend belonging both to schoolem
& usher since my first entry at Haukeshead till
ffeb 10 last past before the date hereof
p me W^m Bordley

Payd to the schoolem^r out of that was last recd at
Trumfllet the sune of 8^{li} 15 4

It to Robt Rawlinson	14	2
It to M ^r Nicolson	1	4 2
It to James Brath:	1	12 2
It to Tho: Baites	1	0 0
It M ^r Raw ^t : Charges	1	15 2
It to M ^r Miles Sands	0	18 8
It to Edw. Saw:	3	0 0
It to M ^r Raw ^t : forme ^{ly}		

disbursed

3 4 4
22 4 0

March 17th 1650

yet owinge unto me ... 2 5 0
in chardges at meetings
since ... 0 3 6
more 1^s
more since vj^d.

March 8 1651

Recd of the Governors of Haukeshead free schoole & of others by their appointmt at & before the day abouesde in full discharge for all by past for schoolem ^r & other the sume of	} li s d 3 0 0
---	-------------------

By me W Bordley

Taken upon the day abouesde to be accounted for hereafter the sume of	} 6 15 0
--	----------

By me W Bordley

Yet, in spite of all these vexations, the school rubbed along and flourished in a sort of way through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: for the very reason that these were the good days of Hawkshead, and the class of schooling provided suited the state of local society. Consequently, the school, with its free teaching, was well-attended, and it was only when the industrial and trade changes that we have elsewhere described, coupled with the altering value of money, began to show the necessity for both changing the type of education and of increasing the salaries, that the rotten financial condition into which the school had been allowed to get, became apparent.

In consequence, when the Commissioners appointed to inquire concerning charities for the education of the poor, visited Hawkshead in July, 1819, a most astounding state of things presented itself. They found, first of all, situated close to the school a substantial public-house, called the Sun Inn, with barn, stable, smithy, and garden, built upon part of the original property with which the school was endowed, and which, although they estimated its value at thirty to forty pounds, had, in fact, never paid the schoolmaster within the memory of man anything but a paltry twelve shillings a year, and was claimed as private property by a Mrs. Ladyman.

Such a state of affairs merited inquiry. Mrs. Ladyman being asked to show title, produced an indenture dated 1801, conveying the property from one John Strickland to her late husband; another conveyance cited Myles Strickland's will of 1770, bequeathing the said property held from 1720 for three consecutive terms of 99 years each up to 1,000 years, subject to a rent of twelve shillings. Thomas Ladyman had paid for this £251.

But no such lease was forthcoming, high or low, and when the Commissioners departed, Bowman the master, and a lawyer, rummaged the school chest in vain. They reported the whole matter to Mr. Brougham, noting that Ladyman had much improved the value of the property, and asking advice how to proceed. Brougham, in reply, suggested application to a Court of Equity.

After this it turned out that Ladyman, having borrowed money of a local gentleman, had deposited with him his deeds as security : and search being again made, deeds were found which indicated as follows :—

First, that on the 6 Jan., 1720, the Governors for the time being, had actually demised to one George Walker, innkeeper, the property in question, consisting of dwelling-house, barn, stable, and smithy (which he, Walker, had erected on the school property with the consent of the governors), for the three consecutive terms of 99 years each to the end of 1,000 years. In 1734 it was sold by George Walker to Cornelius Robinson : and again in the same year by Cornelius Robinson to Clement Satterthwaite and William Braithwaite, and in 1741 by William Braithwaite to Robert Robinson, who conveyed it to the Stricklands. In every case there appeared to have been substantial payment, and it was sold subject to the twelve shillings rent payable to the Governors.

An abstract of these evidences was then forwarded to the Commissioners, with the remark that the statement that Walker had built the house did not appear to be absolutely the case, as part of the building appeared much older ; but in their report in 1820, the Commissioners seem to have accepted the fact that part of the buildings were, at any rate, the erections of Walker, the first lessee, and that they were the consideration of the lease. Mr. Carlisle, the secretary of the Commissioners, refused at that date to give advice on behalf of that body, and Brougham, on being applied to, answered that proceedings should probably be “by information under the late construction put on the 52 George III.” ; but as it appeared that the then master did not wish to push the question, it would,

perhaps, be advisable to delay proceedings during his incumbency. Upon this, in 1820 a meeting of Governors was called, and as Mr. Bowman, the master, declared himself content with matters as they stood, and protested against action being taken, this course was unanimously agreed to. Such was the state of affairs in 1820 when the Commissioners issued their report, adding that there was no memorandum or notice of this lease in the school records, and that they had no proof of such except from the recitals in later deeds which had been furnished.

But there was more besides. The houses in Fynkell Street in Kendal, which Samuel Sandys had apparently granted as full freeholds, and which in the time of Elizabeth were rented at £2 3s. 4d., appeared to be also practically lost. The Commissioners found that from time immemorial, ground-rents for five tenements, amounting to £1 18s. 5½d., had been received, and nothing more. They found also in the school chest an indenture dated 1607 conveying one tenement at 13s. 4d. yearly rent, though no price was given; and there was no evidence that any price had ever been paid, or even the 13s. 4d.

In 1829 Dr. Hiekie succeeded Mr. Bowman as master, and he was not one to let the grass grow under his feet. In 1832, although opposed by the Governors, he filed a bill in the Court of Chancery to recover both properties. The result was successful as far as the Sun Inn was concerned, and this property was recovered; but the evidence on the subject of the Kendal houses was so meagre in the total absence of deeds, that this part of the case was dropped. The expenses of the suit were ordered to be paid out of the School Estates, and for this purpose the Governors borrowed £1,139 5s. 1d. from the Trustees of the Thomas Sandys Charity, which was a later benefaction of the school. Surely, it would be hard to find a grosser case of mismanagement than we have here. From the culpable neglect, if not actual fraudulence of the Governors in 1720, the valuable income of one portion of the school estates was alienated for over one hundred years: another

property was lost altogether ; and it does not appear that the Governors would have ever taken steps to recover these losses if it had not been for the energy of Hickie. There is nothing to show that from 1720 to 1820 any Governor ever took the trouble to look into the original endowment of the school or to examine the papers to find out why the school was not receiving the full rents of the estates. The title deeds, crammed anyhow, no doubt, into the old damp muniment chest, contained no one knew what, nor does it seem that anyone cared.*

As it is not our intention, nor, indeed, would it be within the scope of the present volume to enter in detail into the modern financial condition of the school, we must dismiss the subsequent charities very briefly. A very full account of these can, indeed, be easily got at by reference to the Report of the Charity Commissioners appointed to inquire into Educational Charities, which was issued in 1820, and reprinted and brought up to date in 1852 by S. Soulby, of Ulverston† ; and to that, those who require detailed information must turn.

The Wakefield property, part of the original endowment, was sold in 1791 for £762 10s., and with part of the purchase money the twenty-two acre farm of Knipefold, near Hawkshead, was acquired in 1793 ; and in 1796 a small sum was laid out in purchasing a slip of land called Sark Slieve, adjoining the schoolhouse. The Trumflett Estate still belongs to the school, but like other landed property has depreciated much in value, for while it was let in 1813

* The deeds till this year were still kept in the old log muniment chest, and were all suffering exceedingly from damp ; some, indeed, of the older ones being reduced to a state of pulp, quite illegible, and, indeed, barely recognisable as documents. Surely, with the warning of the above losses to the school, the importance of preserving the title deeds in a proper air, fire and damp-proof safe ought to have become sooner apparent. The Letters-Patent and original statutes, as well as the modern conveyances, were all in the same receptacle ; in fact, we believe the entire documentary evidences of the institution, whether of historical or legal importance. Among the papers in this chest we found a schedule of the original deeds handed to the Governors (31 Eliz.), and this we add in the Appendix.

† The account we have given of the endowment estate is compiled chiefly from this and a statement of proceedings taken 1819-20 by the Trustees and Governors *re* the Sun Inn, which exists in the school chest.

for £45, it only produced £30 in 1890. Most of the other charities will be found in the general list we give in the Appendix. They consist of those of Daniel Rawlinson (1669); the Rev. Thomas Sandys (1717), £1,000 for the education of poor boys, formerly called "blue-coat boys"; and George Satterthwaite (1731); and in 1817 the Rev. W. Wilson gave £100, the interest of which was to be applied to the purchase of useful books to be lent to the scholars at the master's discretion; or, should it be thought more desirable, a portion, or occasionally the whole, might be given in prizes for efficiency in English and the classics.

After the conclusion of the lawsuit the Sun Inn paid a rent of £35 a year; but the whole fabric of the school was tottering, and a new scheme for the application of the *improved income* (as it was apparently ironically termed) and for regulating the school, was submitted to the Court of Chancery, and approved by the Master on May 12, 1835. Nevertheless, this new decree embodied to a very large extent the original statutes; indeed, considering how far society had changed since the foundation, the small amount of change is extraordinary. In Rule I. Grammar and Greek were changed to English, Latin, Greek, writing, and arithmetic, and free teaching was limited to scholars residing in the vicinity of Hawkshead. Rule XII. was omitted; and in Rule XV. the stipends of the master and usher were altered to two-thirds of the income of the School Estates for the former, and £50 per annum for the latter. School hours remained the same; but holidays became five weeks at summer and four weeks at Christmas. Four new rules were added: one for applying surplus money for prizes, or to the improvement of the estates; and three regulating the application of the income from later bequests, and fixing the powers of Governors to lease the school lands for building or otherwise. Everything else was retained. No miracles were worked by this scheme. In 1856 one of the Governors, in correspondence with the Charity Commissioners, reported that "there is only one boy to whom Latin is taught, the remaining

scholars being blue-coat boys who go according to the provision of the founder's will." At this date, indeed, there was renewed friction between the Master and Governors, as a result of which, application was made in 1862 for a further new scheme to regulate the educational charities of Hawkshead. Commissioners were sent down, evidence taken, and a draft scheme was submitted, and, being approved by the Governors, was sealed on the 7th August, 1863. This scheme, and the subsequent one of 1891, were on totally different principles, practically abrogating the original statutes ; and, being modern history, need not be entered into here. It cannot, however, be said that either has much revived the school.

The system of the school up to the time of the 1835 scheme remained very primitive. All boys of the parish, who were able to read, were instructed free in English and the classic tongues. Scholars, however, whose homes were beyond the limits of the parish, paid an entrance fee of two guineas each, and a Shrovetide "Cockpenny," which, in 1820. was one to three guineas each. Some of the sons of better-class parishioners also paid these sums, but very few ; and in all cases they were of the character of "honoraria," which could not be demanded. The cockpenny had originated as a "backshish" to the pedagogue in old days, to allow the boys their Shrovetide "mains," and in 1681 Sir Daniel Fleming paid 10s. for the cockpennies of his four sons who were at Hawkshead. In 1829, after Hickie's accession, it was resolved to do away with this institution, "which originated in barbarism and barbarous custom," and to substitute for it a quarterly payment not exceeding one guinea for English tuition to boys from without the parish. Writing and arithmetic remained extras, and had to be paid for down to 1835.

But beside the ordinary scholars, there were the poor boys who were educated freely at the school under the special provisions of the Thomas Sandys' Charity. To them English was taught free ; but the Governors defrayed the extra cost of their instruction in writing and arithmetic.

They were boarded free, and were commonly called "Blue-coat boys" from the suit of clothing provided under the will of the benefactor. At the time of the 1822 report the number of these boys had been reduced from nine to five; and in the 1863 scheme, when the school was broken into two, "The Upper or Grammar School" and "The English or Lower School," the Governors were given the power of appointing fourteen foundation scholars, of whom eight were from the Lower School, and the remaining six from the Upper. All these were educated free, but the Lower School foundation boys were also provided yearly with a suit of clothes. In the 1890 scheme, the Lower School was made a separate foundation, under the name of the Hawkshead Public Elementary School Foundation.

No provision being made in the original statutes for lodging the scholars in the school-house, it remained the custom till well into this century for the parents of scholars whose homes were distant to arrange for their accommodation in houses in the town. Such we know was the case with the poet Wordsworth; and probably, dames and widow women had regular lodging-houses in Hawkshead when the school was most flourishing. It was, no doubt, this lack of accommodation which led to the idea of the scheme pointed to in this manifesto.

*Hawkshead School and Military
Academy, Lancashire.*

Mr. Mingay

BEGS leave to inform his Friends and the Public, that he is fitting up, and intends opening, on Monday the 12th of January 1789, a genteel and commodious House, in a pleasant and airy Situation, adjoining HAWKSHEAD SCHOOL, for the reception of young GENTLEMEN as Boarders, where such Youths as may be committed to his care, will be prepared either for the ARMY, NAVY, UNIVERSITY, or COUNTING-HOUSE, at twenty-five Pounds a Year, and three Guineas Entrance.

The Languages and Sciences taught in this Academy on the above Terms are English, Latin, Greek, and French, Writing in all Hands, Arithmetic, Merchants' Accounts, Geography, and the Use of the Globes, Dancing, Fencing, and Music.

The Young Gentlemen will receive the Classical and Mathematical Parts of their Education at HAWKSHEAD SCHOOL; the head Master of which is the Rev. T. BOWMAN, A.M. and Fellow of Trinity College: the second Master A.B. of Sidney College, Cambridge. The other Branches will be taught by Mr. MINGAY, and able Assistants.

*** Mr. MINGAY assures his Friends that nothing will be wanting to render the Situation of his Pupils pleasant and agreeable: their Morals, Manners, and Address will be particularly attended to; and their Constitutions, Tempers, and Genius, judiciously consulted.

This printed circular we found among the Rawlinson papers, and it will be noticed that it was proposed to open this establishment just two years after Wordsworth left the school. There is no record that it ever came to anything: it was, in fact, far too ambitious—a castle in the air, no doubt. It is difficult to say whether the “genteel and commodious” house was any building then or now standing; or if it was proposed to build such; but at any rate no more was heard of it.

The largest number of scholars seems to have been about 1785, when there were over one hundred. In 1820 there were forty, of which half were inhabitants of the parish.

Among scholars of Hawkshead who have distinguished themselves are William Wordsworth, the poet; Dr. Wordsworth, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; Lord Brougham, who, as we have seen, was afterwards applied to for advice about the school; Dr. Joshua King, senior wrangler 1819, and Master of Queen's College, Cambridge; Sir James Scarlett, Attorney-General, and afterwards Lord Abinger; Edward Baines, the historian of the county of Lancaster; Mr. Beck, author of “*Annales Furnesienses*”; and Dr. Walker, the seventeenth century divine.

The school library was founded under the gift of Daniel Rawlinson in 1669 (see Appendix), by which the interest of £100 was to be applied every sixth year to buy books for the school, and to buy stationery and pay for a writing master. But Rawlinson did far more than this. He worked up his personal friends and induced them to present books to the school library, and by this means got together a little library of about 120 works, which formed the nucleus of the present collection. Of these there are several lists; and one of these is headed—

“A Catalogue of Books giuen to Haukeshead Schoole in the County of Lancaster by Daniel Rawlinson Cittizen and Vint^r of London and by his friends att his Request.”

Among the donors we find county gentlemen, city clergy, court officials, city magnates and merchants, a bishop, and others. These are some of the names:—Daniel Rawlinson, Curwen Rawlinson of Carke, and other members of the family; various members of the Sandys family; Christopher Nicholson, of Newcastle, merchant, one of the Hawkshead Hall Nicholsons; Daniel Fleming, of Rydal; Preston, of Holker; Sadler, Bishop of Chester; Dr. Sancroft, then Dean of St. Paul's; Jno. Sharpe, Archdeacon of Berks and Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor; Dr. Layfield, Archdeacon of Essex and Canon of St. Paul's; The Rectors of Bootle in Cumberland, St. Dunstan's in the West, St. Olave's in Hart Street, St. Dionis Back Church, Croston, in Lancashire, St. Mary's, Colchester, and of Market Depeing; the Vicar of Millom; Thos. Benson, master of the Vintners' Company; the Clerk of the same; Samuel Hall, warden of the same; Sir William Wade, *knt.*; Col. Abraham Slanyon; John Blashfield, citizen and fishmonger; Edward Sherborn, one of H.M. principal officers of Ordnance; George Wharton, treasurer of Ordnance; Simon Corbett, yeoman rider to his Majesty; and John Mazine, *equerry*; lastly, George Rigg, the old parish clerk.

The library was augmented under the bequest of the Rev. Thomas Sandys in 1717, by which he not only directed

that money should be laid out on books, but also left a collection of his own.

Mr. Bowman about 1789 was also a benefactor of the school, and it was on his suggestion a meritorious custom was put in practice, of every scholar annually subscribing 5s. to the library, and presenting a book or books on leaving the school. This custom, however, fell into disuse when his successor Dr. Hickie became master. Mr Wilson's bequest of 1817 we have already noticed.



From a photo. by

HAWKSHEAD GRAMMAR SCHOOL
(BEFORE THE RECENT ALTERATIONS).

(Messrs. Brunskill

The books were formerly stored in a "press" given for the purpose by Edwin Sandys of Esthwaite, 1670; but they are now kept in the library in open shelves, with the exception of a few rare volumes which have recently been put under lock and key. We regret to say that the entire collection is, in spite of the room being regularly used during term time, suffering extremely from damp. It is not, in fact, probably too much to say that, unless the Governors take measures soon to have the room kept really

dry with heating apparatus, the entire library will be rendered valueless.

The total number of books is now about 1,080; and they consist of travels, theology, classics, and other sorts of works. The volumes of greatest interest are the Founder's own Bible, folio, 1572; a history of Greece, and Hoole's "Tasso's Jerusalem," given by Wordsworth and some friends on leaving the school; a quarto Chaucer of 1561; Fox's Martyrs, 1641; Purchas, his pilgrims, 1625; Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," 1617; Archbishop Sandys' Sermons; Sandys' "Europæ Speculum"; Works of Josephus; Camden's "Britannia," etc.

Daniel Rawlinson also rebuilt the school itself between 1669 and the date of his death; and over the door is an inscribed tablet commemorating the foundation of the school put up by Rawlinson at the time.

MEMORIE REVERENDI D.D. EDWINI
SANDYS EBOR. OLIM ARCHIEPISCOPI
SCHOLÆ HUIUS FUNDATORIS
DANIEL RAWLINSON CIVIS LOND.
GRAISDALIA COM. LANC. ORIUNDUS
POSUIT
ANNO DOMINI
1675.

Above which are the arms, crest, and motto of Sandys of Graythwaite. The red sandstone framework with date 1585 and the quoins of the windows were added by Colonel Sandys, M.P., in 1891.*

* During these alterations, in removing the plaster on the inside of the walls and the roughcast externally, many stones were found with names and dates cut upon them. These seem to have all been the work of scholars during the rebuilding of the school itself. None are earlier than 1664, and none later than 1676. The conclusion is, perhaps, that in 1664 the old roughcast was peeled off to repair or rebuild the walls, but that they were not roughcast again till 1676. Some of these stones have been preserved built into the wall face in the lower schoolroom. The principal ones are DANIEL RAWLINSON, 1670; EDWARD WRIGHT, 1676; JOHN PHILIPS, 1664; H.S., 1664; G.R., 1667; I.M., 1668.

CHAPTER XI.

(Olla Podrida.)

GEOLOGICAL, METEOROLOGICAL, AND ZOOLOGICAL.

GEOLOGY.

SOME ten to twelve years ago the present writer spent much of his time with hammer and wallet among the few beds of fossiliferous rock which occur in the parish. Of late years other work has prevented him following the study, but the experience then gained enables him to testify to the fascination of field geology in the Lakes. At that date the Geological Survey Sheet, which shows the upper half of the parish, was not published ; but, on the other hand, a very charming work, full of minute observation and information, was already old literature. Mr. John Bolton, though self-taught, was the pioneer of the science in the Lakes, and had published his "Geological Fragments" in 1869, and this work contains a mass of valuable matter concerning both High and Low Furness. With this, and the two geological sheets, the field geologist will have no difficulty in finding his way to the most interesting parts of the district.

In the Lake district a wide belt of country—from Keswick to Windermere and from Haweswater to Millom—is occupied by bedded felspathic ash rocks belonging to the Lower Silurian system. South of this we come to a narrow band of limestone of the same age, and overlying this, everything to the south, at least as far as our parish is concerned, belongs to the Upper Silurian period.

In a small portion only of our parish, the extreme north and north-west, we find the Lower Silurian rocks represented. If we enter the parish about Elterwater, and walk in a straight line through to Finsthwaite, we shall pass over all the formations in the following sequence:—

LOWER SILURIAN—

Green slates, and altered volcanic ash
and Breccias; about two miles.

Coniston limestone and shale band *Bala Limestone.*

UPPER SILURIAN—

Band of fossiliferous shales (Stockdale
shales) *Tarannon Shales.*

Coniston flags and grits; about 2½
miles *Denbighshire Grits and Flags.*

Bannisdale series of sandy mudstone
and grit; about six miles *Wenlock Shale.*

The volcanic ash rock, which we first meet, is the splendid material of which our Coniston and Holme Ground slates are made. It appears to be coeval with some of the Bala and Llandeilo rocks of Wales, but is immensely hard, fine in texture, and is unfossiliferous.

Crossing Borwick Ground Fell, we next come at Sunnybrow farm, to the Coniston limestone band, here, in consequence of a large fault, much displaced and thrown south to the extent of a full mile. As this limestone band is essentially local, and the most interesting feature, we must trace it a little in detail.

The Coniston limestone band, which forms the top layer of the Lower Silurian rocks, is first found at Hartley Ground, near Broughton-in-Furness, and thence we trace it in a fairly direct line to Coniston, where it traverses Yewdale on the west side of Yewdale Beck. At Low Yewdale it disappears under a small alluvial plain, but the Stockdale shales, which overlie the limestone and which have formed the east bank of the beck, continue to be traceable as far as Yew Tree farm. Here, however, we arrive at the

great fault already mentioned, and to find both bands again we must climb over to Mr. Marshall's house at Waterhead. From Waterhead it follows a slightly sinuous line by the east side of the Tarn Hows to Sunnybrow limekiln, where it suddenly expands; but here we are again at the other end of the fault, which, it may be remarked, is the largest in the whole twenty-five miles of the band. To find it again we go nearly north, rather over a mile, to Holmes Head, where it is much broader (with the shale a third of a mile), and from this point it runs, narrowing as it goes, down to Pull Wyke on Windermere. With its subsequent course across Westmorland we have no concern here.

The limestone band is of a concretionary character, so dark coloured as to suggest little to the lay eye of its nature, and very subject to weathering. Here and there it is replaced by bands of ashly sandstone. It has been found of little use for burning, and of less as a building stone; so that its chief interest lies in its highly fossiliferous character.

The best localities for the fossil hunter are near the limekilns in Yewdale and at Sunnybrow, on the rocks east of the Tarns, and near Limestone hill behind Sunnybrow. All these sites yielded the writer, in his days of geological enthusiasm, numerous examples of trilobites, corals, and bivalves, such as *orthis* and *lingula*.* But the fossils show badly, and are difficult to get, except where the rock is weathered; and then the organisms themselves must be treated delicately, for they are soft. Moreover, they are often squeezed by pressure into the most "cock-eyed" shapes, and trilobites are most irritatingly bisected, heads here and tails there, but complete crustaceans most scarce. Yet the great number, variety, and clearness of these very early organisms give a wonderful zest to the *sport*, as we think it may fairly be called; and an excellent mixed bag may always be anticipated at certain localities.

* The Geological Survey "Memoir" and Bolton's "Geological Fragments," p. 58, may be referred to for lists of the species, but probably not a few remain unnamed.

The Stockdale shales, the base of the upper Silurian rocks, form a thin band accompanying and overlying the limestone throughout. They contain a graptolite bed—if you are fortunate enough to find a piece exposed and weathered—and some of the forms of these curious fossils are remarkably beautiful.

Between the shale and a fairly straight line drawn from Dodgson Wood on the margin of Coniston to Esthwaite Lodge, and thence to a point between Belle Grange and Slape Scar, we have the Coniston flags and grits. The northern half of this area is chiefly of flag formation, excellent both for walling and floors; but there is an irregular band of grit traversing it, and just south of this and geologically above it a few fossils are found in the flags. At Coldwell quarry, which has given a name to this fossiliferous band, a few encrinites, and examples of the blunt-tailed phacops (*obtusicaudata*) will reward the student. But, again, this trilobite is found invariably irritatingly halved, so that the quarrymen called the lower halves “butterflies,” to which, indeed, they have a great similarity. The grits which fill up the other half of this area are less useful than the flags, and fossils are hardly known.

South of the line from Dodgson Wood to Windermere, the rest of our parish is of the Bannisdale series, except at the south-west corner, round Colton, where the Coniston grits re-appear. These rocks are sandy mudstones interbedded with coarse grits and sandstones: they are no use for slate, and make worse flags than the Coniston flags and grits. They are not unfossiliferous, but we are not aware that fossils have been found within the parish.

The Coniston limestone, green slates, and lower flags and grits, are crossed by numerous faults running generally north and south; and these no doubt have partly caused the broken surface features found about Monk Coniston and Borwick Fell. In other parts of the parish, however, they are very few. There are a few felsite dikes in Satterthwaite, Dale Park, Rusland, Brathay, etc., but they are not numerous.

The copper and silver deposits which we have elsewhere mentioned at Dale Park and near Pull Wyke, appear to be connected with these dikes, but the geological map marks no ore deposits within the parish. The student of glaciation and drift will find plenty of interest in the rounded rocks, grooved boulders, and the great moraine heaps which lie at the head of Esthwaite and elsewhere.

Though a country of quick-running streams, there is not much alluvium in Hawkshead. The largest alluvial plain is the Rusland Valley, which extends from Rusland Church to Haverthwaite and Greenodd. This is in the main, real sediment, or river wash from the fells. But the loamy plain which extends from the head of Esthwaite to Hawkshead Hall, and also in places on the west margin, and round Out Dubs, speaks probably of a time when Esthwaite was three miles in length, and when this sediment was dropped and deposited on its bed. In the same way the head of Coniston has been a good deal silted up by wash from the high fells. There are besides, numerous small loamy levels in the fells, many, if not most, of which were probably at one time lakelets or tarns. Such, no doubt, existed in the bottom of Satterthwaite and Dale Park valleys, and again, perhaps, below Thwaite Head; and similar but smaller sites are traceable. True peat-bogs are common in the fells, but except near Haverthwaite and below Rusland, they are never of any extent; yet sometimes large trunks of trees, generally of oak, occur in them. The writer possesses a bookcase made from a tree thus found in Hawkshead Hall Park. The wood is sound and very dark, and cut up into excellent planks a foot wide. But such trunks are not numerous.

NOTABLE STORMS AND NOTABLE SEASONS.

The Lake district weather is proverbially queer, and its reputation for excessive rain is perfectly merited. As country gentlemen in the parish have on this account an enormous amount of idle time thrown on their hands, a most meritorious

fashion has sprung up in their ranks or "keeping a rain gauge," which seems to take the place of a hunter in the shires, or a yacht at Cowes. This is right and proper; and as their statistics appear regularly in the local papers, the present writer feels that the necessity of working up material for a chapter on climate is but trifling, seeing that so much scientific material is being collected and recorded; and further, that a conscientious account, if written as it should be for the popular eye, would only bring the author into evil odour with his numerous neighbours, and with many public bodies whose dearest wish is to exploit the Lakes, and by shrouding its demerits and proclaiming its charms, to draw yet more crowded trains of excursionists, and besprinkle yet more thickly the lovely lake margins with modern villas.

We content ourselves, then, almost entirely with the record of a remarkable modern storm, which the reader may compare with that of 1686 which we have mentioned on pages 242-3. The gale of December 21st and 22nd, 1894, is certainly the biggest storm in the memory of man, and almost equalled in destructive effects that chronicled in the Parish Register. It began to blow on the night of December 21st, and continued with considerable severity until 7 a.m. the following morning, when it greatly increased in force, and it was after that hour that most of the damage took place. Its direction was from a point north of west, but towards mid-day it veered towards the north, and moderated somewhat. The most notable feature was the destruction of timber, of which no class was spared. In places like Hawkshead Hall rookery, where there was timber of large size, the destruction was enormous, many of the largest trees being completely uprooted, while from those which remained standing, huge branches were completely torn away, or in some cases the tree split entirely in two; while others were whirled round, and their roots so loosened, that their destruction was assured in subsequent gales. Among plantations of larch and conifers, the ravages were equally great, and in places ten to twenty trees were blown down or snapped off side by side. Farm

roofs suffered greatly, some being nearly half stripped of their slates. Numerous temporary buildings were partly destroyed, or overthrown, and the great Yew of Yewdale was blown bodily over. Haystacks were blown away; and in the churchyard an upright marble headstone to the memory of the writer's grandfather was broken in half by the force of the wind. A substantial corrugated iron building, used by the Golf Club, was moved bodily about a yard, but was not overturned.

This storm was disastrous all over a great part of the north, but nowhere more than in our parish; at Birkenhead, however, the registered speed of the wind was 120 miles an hour, and its pressure 80 lbs. to the foot.

This remarkable storm was followed by the great frost of January, February, and March in 1895, which was so marked over all England, and indeed Europe, that it is not local history. The thermometer frequently was below zero, and all the Lakes, including the whole of Windermere, were skated over; the last was an almost unknown thing to the present generation. The frost was followed by a drought of the early summer, and the final oddity of this eccentric year was a tropical September, the thermometer locally rising to a maximum of over 80.

It is worth remark that droughts are frequently preceded by big storms. We have before us a note of an exceptional thunderstorm in this valley on 3rd September, 1867, when eight trees were struck at Lakefield, Sawrey, and four sheep killed at Low Wray. 1868 was an exceptionally dry summer, for from the first week in June there were only three showers in nine weeks. Water was sold at Grange for 2d. a glass, and cattle had frequently to be driven several miles to drink. On some days at the end of July water neither ran into, nor out of, Esthwaite; and butter became double its normal price. On the 6th August there fell more rain than during the whole of the previous ten weeks.*

* Mr. T. Taylor's commonplace book.

Earthquake shocks have several times been felt in the Lake district in the present century. One, which seems to have been fairly severe, occurred on February 23rd, 1867, between one and two o'clock in the morning. It was felt at Langdale, Grasmere and Windermere, at Bowness and Coniston, and within the parish, at Hawkshead, Sawrey, and Finsthwaite. The motion is described as coming apparently from north to south; the night was clear, and a noise accompanied the shock longer and louder than any thunder-clap. At Loughrigg and Tilberthwaite, domestic articles were thrown down, and at Ambleside and Grasmere, many people were so startled that they rose and dressed themselves. Another is recorded as having occurred on March 17th, 1871, being distinctly felt at Langdale, Sawrey, Coniston, Hawkshead, and Wray. There were three shocks. The first, at 6.50 p.m., was accompanied by a noise, and was of sufficient violence to shake houses and make things rattle. The second, at 11.10 p.m., was a regular earth-tremor, and the noise, "like a grating sound," was louder and more prolonged. The third, at 3 a.m., was only felt out of doors. The air was still and warm; but, in spite of the vibration, it does not seem that any buildings were damaged.*

NATURAL HISTORY NOTES.

The following is a brief list of some of the rarer or more interesting animals and birds only. For a great part of the information we are indebted to Mr. C. F. Archibald, of Rusland Hall, and to Mr. Macpherson's "Vertebrate Fauna of Lakeland."

MAMMALS.

The true WILD CAT (*Felis Catus*) lingered in many parts of the Lakes till about 1790, and was fairly common at Hawkshead, although it was never paid for as

* Most of these notes on earthquakes are from Mr. Taylor's commonplace book.

vermin, by the Churchwardens. Pennant (Second tour, 1772) says that between Esthwaite and Graythwaite "The roads are excellent amidst fine woods, with grey rocks pitched with moors rising above. In one place observed a Holly Park, a tract preserved entirely for sheep. . . . Wild cats inhabit in too great plenty these woods." *

The PINE MARTEN or SWEET MART (*Martes Sylvestris*). Rare, but not extinct. Two were killed in spring, 1897, near Skelwith, whither they had probably strayed from the heathery rocks about Pull Brow.

The FOU MART or POLE CAT (*Mustela Putoria*). Common till about fifty years ago, but now nearly, if not quite, extinct. All over the north they were hunted and trapped, and their skins were worth 2s. 6d. each. Both marts were formerly regularly hunted with dogs by the dalesmen.

The BADGER is extinct. OTTERS are still fairly common ; and among the smaller species the DORMOUSE is occasionally found.

BIRDS.

BITTERN.—An occasional visitor. Examples have been shot in 1867 at Esthwaite, and about the same date at High Cross Tarn, and at Rusland about 1850 and 1896.

BRAMBLING.—Rusland, and Abbot's Reading.

BUZZARD.—Nested at Rusland within human memory.

CRAKE.—The spotted crane, though searched for by Mr. Archibald for the last dozen years, was observed for the first time at Rusland in 1898. As a pair of old birds and a young bird were killed within a month near the same ground, it seems probable that they had bred there.

CROSSBILL.—Occasional.

* Of Esthwaite he writes : " Its fish are perch, called here bass, pike, eels ; but no trout. The eels descend in multitudes through the river that flows from this mere into Winander, beginning their migrations with the first floods after mid-summer, and cease on the first snows. The inhabitants of the country take great numbers in wheels at that season, when it is their opinion that the eels are going into salt water, and that they return in spring."

DUCK.—Wild duck have always frequented the three lakes; and Esthwaite, from its quietness, has always been a favourite haunt. In 1891 Mr. Archibald counted about 120 duck and thirty teal at Out Dubs, but this was very exceptional. Colonel Sandys now breeds duck at Esthwaite, and they are often seen in small numbers about the smaller tarns.

The Tufted Duck has been noticed at Esthwaite by the Rev. H. T. Baines, of Sawrey; and shell duck have recently taken to nesting in the fells.

EAGLE.—There is no historic record of the eagle. It was never paid for as vermin by the Churchwardens, though this was regularly done at Crosthwaite (Cumberland) till 1765. Yet it must have existed in the parish, for Pennant says they bred in many places in the mountains about the head of Windermere. One, seen at Esthwaite in March, 1845, was, of course, only a visitor.*

GOLDEN EYES.—Occasional.

GOOSE.—The wild goose occasionally crosses the parish, seldom alighting.

GOOSANDER.—One, Rusland, 1862.

GROUSE.—Blackgame, now fairly common on Hawkshead fells wherever savine grows, were introduced in more than one locality between 1830 and 1840, and in 1845 and 1849 were still uncommon enough to be remarked upon in the local papers. It is thought that the formation of larch plantations suggested the idea of trying them in High Furness, but since they were abundant on the border in the seventeenth century, the opinion we have often heard that they always existed in small numbers in the fells, is probable enough. The red or ordinary grouse is, and has always been, common.

GULLS.—A solitary pair of great black-backed gulls is known to breed in strictly preserved land near Rusland, where they have been carefully watched by Mr. Archibald.

* *Carlisle Patriot*, 14th March, 1845.

GUILLEMOT.—One shot at Graythwaite, November, 1888.

HERON.—There is an old-established heronry in Rusland.

KITE.—The kite nested in the trees by the old Ferry Inn till 1790. Notice also the farm name Glead Nest.

MERLIN.—One or two pairs still nest in the fells.

OWL.—The barn and wood owls still fairly common. The long-eared owl occasionally seen.

PINTAIL.—One, shot at Rusland.

PLOVER (GOLDEN).—A very rare visitor.

POCHARD.—An example has been shot at Esthwaite.

RAVEN.—Rare. See the accounts of its slaughter in the Parish Accounts.

SHRIKE (GREAT GREY).—Four occurrences of recent years near Rusland, Graythwaite, and Abbot's Reading.

SMEW.—An example shot at Rusland, 1891.

SNOW-BUNTING.—Occasional.

SWAN.—In 1830 a herd of wild swans, whoopers, visited Esthwaite, and one was shot. In 1895 twenty were observed by Mr. Archibald's keeper flying high over Rusland.

WIDGEON.—Occasional.

WOODCOCK.—Not found in great numbers, though the record bag, eighteen killed out of nineteen shot at, was made by R. Holme, Mr. Archibald's keeper, on November 27th, 1889. The woodcock nests pretty freely in the wooded parts of the parish. To their wholesale snaring or sprinting we have alluded elsewhere.

The following note on the commoner but characteristic birds, is extracted from a letter to the author from Mr. Archibald :—

“A considerable number of curlews breed on the fells: our streams are enlivened by the presence of the dipper, grey wagtail, common sandpiper, more rarely the kingfisher, and in the sluggish water the dabchick; our mosses attract

the water-rail, grasshopper warbler, and reed-bunting; our woods shelter the goldcrest, treecreeper, lesser redpoll, and bullfinch; whilst the kestrel, night-jar, barn and wood owls are a continual source of pleasure.”*

Schoolgirl Humour.—When Mr. C. W. Rawson, now Vicar of Brathay, was at Wray, one of his school lasses was noted for her waggery. The Vicar one day was endeavouring to impress on his class the force of the word “covenant.” “Now, children,” said he, “I want you to understand. If I was to arrange with a man to do something for me and then go away, what should I do, if when I returned, I found that it had not been done?” “Oh! please sir, I know, sir,” answered Martha with alacrity; “*Blaspheme, sir.*”

The same class had to write an essay on “Cats.” Here is Martha’s:—

“Cats is a cautious animal. There’s lots of cats between here and Hawkshead. Cats eat rats. Rats live in cellars. A rat once ran up a man’s leg and bit him—and he died.”

We lay aside our pen: and to you, kind reader, for whom at this desk we have wrought for ten months, we must bid farewell. A brief rest and then the toil—the toil and drudgery of proof-slips and revises. Yet, why grudge it? From where we sit by the desk, at which for fifteen or sixteen years we have jotted our Hawkshead Notes, our eye wanders over a wide panorama. Bathed in evening light, the fair Vale of Esthwaite, the grey church tower, the silvered mere, and even glimpses of Windermere, are spread map-like almost before us. It is a fair scene—this land of the Dalesman. No doubt it looks vastly different with its green fields and trim hedges and walls, from what it did with its bog and scrub and mire, as we have tried to depict it in olden days. But

* A very fine collection of Lake district birds is being formed at Tullie-house Museum, Carlisle, under the energetic supervision of the Rev. H. A. Macpherson.

the scattered farms, with their yews and sycamores, still shelter the same brave hearts and stalwart frames which they did of yore ; the same shrewd grey eyes glance at you as you pass the byres ; the same roses mantle in the cheek, and the same sweet northern tones are at every homestead which the old sea-pirates brought here a thousand years ago. It is the Saga of these, the men of the Fells, that we have sought to tell in these pages. It is for them and their stock, wherever it is spread over the world, that we mean our book. Critics at large may be kind or may be cruel—but, whether they drag us in the mire or crown us with laurel, it matters but little, if the story is found welcome to our only true critics, THE DALESMEN.

APPENDIX.

I.

THE BOUNDARY AND FISHERY DISPUTES IN FURNESS FELLS.*

The following schedule gives abstracts of all the deeds we know of, which bear on the early Boundary and Fishery disputes between the Barons of Kendal and the Abbots of Furness. The sources are the "Coucher Book of Furness Abbey," edited by Canon Atkinson, collated with extracts from original charters which have been most kindly furnished us by an indefatigable worker, Mr. W. Farrer, of Marton House, Skipton. The abstracts are, of course, only of such parts of the documents as bear on the question, and are translated from the Latin. The pedigree of the Lancasters appended will make the evidence intelligible.

I. 1157 or 1163.—*Confirmation by Henry II. of an agreement between the Monks of Furness, and William Fitz Gilbert (or de Lancaster I.) respecting the division of the fells.* This deed is the Duchy of Lancaster Royal Charter, No. 27, and it is also in the "Coucher Book of Furness Abbey," p. 1, No. I., and p. 343, No. CCV.† The spelling varies in these deeds, and in our extracts (p. 81-82) has been modernized.

Mr. W. Farrer puts the date of this charter 1153 or 1167, and we quote his letter on the subject:—

"Date, This (deed) is witnessed by Hugh, Bishop of Durham, and Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, therefore it lies between 1153-1168 (28 January). From 14 August, 1158, to 25 January, 1163, Henry II. was abroad, and also from March, 1166 to 1168."

* See *ante*, pp. 82, 90, 295-6.

† Also Beck's "Annales Furnesienses," App. IV., p. 1., and West's "Furness," 1774, p. 27.

This leaves the period between 20 December, 1153, and 14 August, 1158, or 25 January, 1163, and March, 1166, as the possible periods between which the date must lie. The date I have assumed* is that suggested by Eyton (*Itinerary of Henry II.*, p. 30), viz.: September, 1157. But I am bound to say that the names of so many north-country men among the witnesses, suggests that the more likely date may be 1-7 July, 1163, when the campaign against the Welsh had been completed, and these north-country people were still in attendance upon the king. Against the earlier date, another fact also militates, viz.: that William, Count of Mortain and Earl of Warren, was Lord of Lancaster, and would have been likely to have had some say in the agreement. He died 1160. John, Constable of Chester (who is a witness), would be too young in 1157 to be in attendance upon the king, for his grandmother, Aubrey de Lizours, was only married shortly before 1130. This makes 1163 quite possible, but 1157 rather improbable.

2. 1196, 11 February.—*The agreement between the Abbot and Convent, and Gilbert son of Roger Fitz Reinfred, by which the exchange was effected.* This is Feet of Fines, 7 Ric. I., No. 116, Record Office. Also Coucher Book of the Abbey, No. VIII., p. 15, and see also No. CCVI., p. 344, a final concord between same parties containing a pedigree of William de Lancaster III., 1196 (West's "Furness," 1774, p. 30).

3. 1223-4.—*Settlement of a dispute between the Abbot of Furness and William de Lancaster III., touching matters of complaint raised by the Abbot versus the said William.*

This important case is given in No. CCXXIX. (p. 392-4) of the Furness Coucher Book, where the heading is *Nota contentionis de fine quodam inter Abbatem de F., et W. de Lancaster*; the pleadings are also cited inter alia in No. II., p. 7.† But the document itself which Mr. Farrer has called our attention to, is *Curia Regis Roll*, No. 83, headed *Placita de termino sancti Michaelis anno R. R. Henrici filii R. Johannis septimo et incipiente octavo*, which gives the date, Michaelmas term, 1223.

We give the translation from the Coucher Book version of the pleadings of the Abbot, and the Baron's defence, so far as they touch the question of the fishery.

* In a letter to *The Westmorland Gazette*, April, 1898.

† Also a summary in No. 25 of descriptive index, p. 59 Coucher Book.

The Abbot pleads :—

“ And further, although the said William holds no land on neither side of Winendremer, he forcibly seizes their fishery, in the said water of Winendremer, and has destroyed their boats there.”

In his defence William set forth :—

“ Of the fishery of Winendremer, he says that the Abbot by that agreement (*finem*) could have there no fishery, because his father had not granted to them the fells, except by defined lines of division (*per dictas divisas*), no mention being made of any fisheries, and the said Abbot had no fishery ever there, but at one time, indeed, he sent his boats there by stealth to fish, and Gilbert, his father, seized and impounded them (*devadiavit*), and for this he seeks a verdict.”

The Abbot's counter-pleadings were :—

“ Of the fishery he says that because in the charter (*airographum*) it is contained, that he shall hold the fells even to Winendremer, he seeks a decision if he shall there have the fishery, especially since he has held it both since and before the agreement was made.”

And William alleged in defence “ that he (the Abbot) had never had any fishery there.

The Court's decision was :—

“ But concerning the fishery, indeed, since the charter speaks only of the fells, and the water of Winendremer in no other way but as boundaries of the aforesaid fells (*non est nisi meta de prædictis Montanis*), it is held that the Abbot can possess no fishery there by that agreement, and William, therefore, is discharged ” (*quietus*).

4. 1246.—*Grant and Release to the Convent by William de Lancaster III. of Egton and Seathwaite ; and further grants of boating and fisheries.*

This grant was made in November, 1246, and the Baron died the 20th of the same month. It is embodied in two deeds in the Coucher Book, p. 347-8, No. CCVIII., and p. 349, No. CCIX. The deeds are nearly the same, but paragraph B is found only in the latter, which also is the only one bearing date. This clause apparently refers to the Abbot's people trespassing or poaching on the Baron's estates.

William has granted for ever “ two small boats, one in Winendremer, and another in Thurstinewater, for carrying their wood and

building material (*maremium*) and other things which may be necessary." Also "two smaller boats, one namely in Winendremer, with 20 nets for fishing constantly without interference from myself or my heirs."

(B.) "But if any of the servants of the said monks, who shall have been navigating their boats in the said waters, shall have given offence in my forest, he shall be sufficiently punished. If, indeed, any of them shall refuse to submit to a fair trial, he shall be discharged from the service of the monks, and shall forfeit his wages."

Dated at Kendal 1246, Nov^r.

5. 1272.—*Inquisition Post-mortem of William de Lindsey made on Thursday after Epiphany, 56 Henry III.**

The Jury stated:—"He also held a certain lake called Wynandmer, where there is an island, whereon he had a Manor house (*mansio*), worth with the fishery 40s." And a reference to the fishery in Applethwayt, and a chapel in the Manor of Windermere is found in Inq. P.M., 11 Ed. I., on William de Lindsey.

6. In the Furness Abbey Coucher Book, p. 378, No. CCXX. *Release and quit claim by Margaret, widow of Robert de Roos, to the Abbot, of exactly the same fishery and boating rights as in No. 4.* Margaret inherited the Marquis fee, and as her husband died in 1273, this deed is later than the Inquisition in No. 5, and much later than the dispute in No. 3.

On these deeds probably hangs the issue of the modern dispute as to the rights of the sister counties over Windermere. The evidence, however, is conflicting. By No. 3 (1223) the Baron's sole right is determined; by No. 4 (1246) certain rights are given up on a rent to the Abbot. By No. 5 (1272) it appears, however, that the Lindseys who owned the Richmond fee still held the lake. But the question is what possible right could Margaret de Roos, who owned what became the Marquis fee, have over it; for if it did not belong to the Abbot, it certainly did to the Lindseys, and it does not seem likely that they, as possessors of the Richmond fee, would recognize such a grant. Under the circumstances it cannot but be asked if Margaret's grant is authentic? Moreover, there appears no evidence in the Abbey chronicles of the fishing rights having ever been exercised after the verdict of 1223.

* Communicated by Mr. W. Farrer.

William de Lancaster (I.) sometimes called
Fitz Gilbert and de Tailboys. He and the
Abbot were the parties to the first partition
of Furness Fells (Deed No. 1).

= Gundreda

William de Lancaster (II.) = Helwyse de Stuteville

Helwyse = Gilbert, son of Roger Fitz Reinfred. He with his wife made the exchange in deed No. 2. Ob. 1220.

William de Lancaster (III.)
Defendant in fisheries cause
when he established his
claims 1223 (Deed No. 3).
Made a grant of boats and
fishery to the Abbot in
1246 (Deed No. 4). Ob.
s.p. 1246.

= Agnes de Brus

Helwyse, eldest
of 3. dau.,
co-heirs

= Peter de Brus

Alice

= William de Lindesey

The Richmond Fee, of
which Windermere is
parcel.

Peter de Brus, ob.
s.p. 1279. Inq.
P.M. Burn and
Nicholson, p. 40.

Margaret, eldest dau. and
co-heir of her brother.
She made a release of
boats and fisheries, to the
Abbot and Convent after
1273 (Deed No. 6).

= Robert de Roos,
ob. 1273.

Marquis Fee.

II.

SCHEDULE OF MS. DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE
FERRY.*

The following documents, with the exception of No. 2, are all among the family papers of J. B. Rawlinson, Esquire, of Graythwaite, who kindly placed them in the writer's hands, in order to make the necessary abstracts. It will be noticed that as early as 1575 (No. 1), the ferrier in the middle cuble, which includes the present ferry, had right of ferriage not only of goods, but of traffic, both horse and foot. The ferriers of the lowest cuble could only ferry *in their own cuble to their most advantage*, which means the carriage of goods for hire. The upper cuble is not mentioned. In No. 2 it is laid down that fishers and ferriers of the highest and lowest cuble may work the carriage of goods, in their own boats for their advantage, in the same way; but those of the middle cuble, *excepting Thomas Braithwaite*, may only ferry for themselves and not for hire. Lastly, that Thomas Braithwaite had a complete right of ferriage of both goods and traffic for hire over the entire lake. This is especially interesting, as it shows that the Braithwaites of the Boat in Undermilbeck, not only held the Ferry proper, but that with it went an inclusive right to perform the same office in all parts of the Lake. No. 3 chronicles an interesting dispute on the occasion of an attempt to increase the tolls in 1699. Eight years later the possession of the Ferry rights were transferred across the lake (Nos. 4-7); and in Nos. 8 and 9 it is shewn that more than once attempts have been made to claim an *exclusive* right, on behalf of the owners of the Ferry, to ferriage over the Lake. What the result of these claims was, we do not know, but the evidence of the earlier awards is, if anything, in their favour.

The "coat for passengers," mentioned in No. 5, was probably a waiting room. In 1789, when the contract was signed for the new market house in Hawkshead, the trustees let a contract to re-build a "shedd or coathouse at great boat," which was to be 32 by 17 feet and 10 feet high. "The ground from the

* See *ante*, p. 246-249.

way into it" was to be "cleared fit for the running of carriages into the coathouse." Coathouse is probably simply cothouse or cottage.

1. 1575 (11 Ap. 17 Eliz.).—Signed copy of award (23 May 1690) of 12 sworn arbitrators in a dispute between Wm. Robinson and ferriers of the lowest cuble, and Myles Milner and ferriers of middle cuble. They find that the ferriers of the lowest cuble *is* free to ferry *to their most advantage within their cuble*, and that Myles Milner is free within the middle cuble *both for horse and man or any other carriage that shall be requested of him*, paying 6/8 Lord's rent: and that no other ferriers or fishers within the said middle cuble do ferry *but only for their own use* on payne of (fine of) 3/4 to the Lord.

2. 1670, 13 April.—Award of 12 sworn Jurors in dispute between Roger Parke and other the Fishers and Ferriers in the highest cuble: William Robinson and other the Fishers and Ferriers of the lowest cuble, and Rowland Park and other the Fishers and Ferriers of the middle cuble, on the one part, and Thomas Braithwaite *Ferrier in and upon the said water* on the other part.

They jury find—

(1) That all Fishers and Ferriers (paying rent to the crown) in the highest and lowest cubles, may Ferry any sort of goods whatsoever in their own boats, within their cubles, *for their most advantage*.

(2) That Fishers and Ferriers in the middle cuble (paying Ferry Rents) may only ferry in the said cuble, *for their Necessaries and no further, excepting the said Thomas Braithwaite*.

(3) That Thomas Braithwaite hath due and right, to ferry and carry over *all and every the said cubles both horse and man and all sorts of goods and commodities whatsoever to his best advantage*, paying his accustomed rent.

(The twelve Jurors, by their names, seem to be all Applethwaite and Undermilbeck men.)

3. 1699.—Articles and Couents of Agremt made concluded and Agreed upon the Twenty second day of September Anno Domi 1699 & in the Eleventh yeare of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lord Willm the Third of England Scotland &c. Kinge

&c. Betweene Miles Sandys of Graythwaite in the county of Lancaster Esq^r, Willm Rawlinson of the same Graythwt Gent and Oliver Sands of Sawrey Infra on the one pte And the seuerall psons whose handes & seales are unto sett being Inhabitants within the pishes of Haukeshead Winder & Kendall on the other pte.

Witnesseth as followeth

Whereas *time out of mind* itt hath beene ussed and Accustomed that the pties to these presents and all others who have had occasion ffrom time to time to passe repasse & travell over Windermer Watter Att the fferry boate on the Kings hyeway there have *time beyond the memory of man* ussed & Accustomed to pay onely one penny and noe more ffor their soe passing & repassing or goeing & returneing ouer the said fferry-boat to the ferryman in respect of his pay; And now Thomas Braithwaite the fferry man there haueing Lately built a new fferry boat Refuseth to receive the said Accustomed pay Intending to exact upon us & other his maisties subjects in raiseing the accustomed pay of the said ferry. In consideration whereof and to the Intent a Legall tryall may be had with the said Thomas Braithwt the fferryman in order to settle the Accustomed pay and his Attendance upon the same att all times when any of his Maisties subjects have occasion to use the said fferry boat the said Miles Sandys Willm Rawlinson & Oliver Sandys haue undertaken the care & burden to solicitt prosecute & defend all such Actions either att Law or in Equity as shall bee needfull to be brought prosecuted or defended from time to time concerning the premisses.

Now therefore In Consideration of the premises & to the Intent the said solicitors may be supplied & Answered with money for the prosecuting the said actions Wee whose handes & seales are hereunto sett doe & each of us seuerally for our selues doth & for our seuerall & respectiue heires Executors and admistrs seurally & respectiuey & not one for another or for the excurs or Admistrs one of Another couenant promise & agree to & with them the said Miles Sandys Willm Rawlinson & Oliver Sandys their excurs Admistrs & Assignes by these present that wee & each of us will seuerally pay or cause to be payed without delay upon demand unto them the said Miles Sandes William Rawlinson & Oliuer Sands or such other pson or psons as they shall Employ

or bee nominated & Apoynted by the sd pties to colect the sume our seurall rateable & proporconable ptes of all such sume or sumes of money as shall from time to time be needfull to raise & colect towards the carying on management & prosecucon of the said Actions to be brought prosecuted or defended & that every one of us as we are seuerally rated taxed or assessed within our seuerall devisions to any sume or sumes of the like vallue raised or Assessed upon us towards the relieffe of the Impotent poore within the seuerall devisions wherein wee doo Inhabitt, And we whose handes & seales are hereunto sett doe & each of us doth seuerall for himselfe and his owne heires executrs & admistrs further couent & agree to & with them the said Miles Sandys Willm Rawlinson & Oliver Sandys & such other as shall bee Apoynted to colect the seuerall sumes to be raised by vertue of this Agreemt that if Any of us shall necklect or refuse to pay his sd proporconable pte (being soe rated as aforesd) upon demand that then itt shall & may bee Lawfull for them the said Miles Sandys Will^m Rawlinson & Oliver Sandys or any of them of the said pson or psons Apoynted to colect the same in their or any of their owne names to sue for and recouer such proporcon Against the pson or psons soe necklecting or refusing by Action of debt in any Court or Courts where the same may hold plea.

And they the said M. S. W. R. & O. S. doe for themselves their executrs & Administrs couenant and Agree to & with them the said Inhabitants whose hand & seales are hereunto sett that they will seuerally upon demand made by the sd Inhabitants whose hands & seales are hereunto sett or the major pte of them giue & render a true & just Account of the money by them or any of them receiued by vertue of this Agreemt & how & for what in ptcullars the same was disbursed & what restes in their handes & will also to their utmost skill & knowledge sollicit psecute & defend such suits or Actions att Law or in Equity as shall att any time be depending concerning the said fferry boat untill such times as the pay of the said ferry boat bee Adjusted & settled or a new ferry built or erected. In witness whereof we to these Artickles of Agreemt seuerally sett our handes & seales the day & yeare ffirst aboue written

J^{no} Suartt mar:
William fellings?
J^{no} Gurnall
Tho Fisher

W^m Satterthwaite
Miles Sawrey
Ed. Satterthwaite
Geo Holme

Mathew Braithwait	J ^{no} Braithwaite
John Suert	James Satterthwaite
William Collinson	Tho Scale
Thomas Suert	Row: Braithwaite
Nicholas Suert	J ^{no} Knipe
W ^m Sawrey	Dorothy Braithwaite
Oliver Sandys	Geo Braithwaite
W ^m Harrison	James Braithwaite
Dan. Mackereth	W ^m Braithwaite
W ^m Satterthwaite	J ^{no} Rigge
W ^m Satterthwaite	Ed. Sawrey
W ^m Braithwaite	J ^{no} Greenep
J ^{no} Satterthwaite	J ^{no} Braithwaite
W ^m Satterthwaite	Geo: Braithwaite
W ^m Sawrey	Jane ? Braithwaite
W ^m Braithwaite	James Rigge
Ben Taylor	W ^m Cowperthwaite
W ^m Sandys	Rich. fforest
Geo. Braithwaite	

4. 1 April, 1707.—Articles of agreement. Thos. Braithwaite, of the Boate in Windermere, Co. Westmorland, and William Rawlinson, of Graithwaite, covenant to convey ferry boats, etc. (as in next) as have been occupied by him and his ancestors.

5. 1 May, 1707.—Indenture between Thomas Braithwaite, of the Boate in Undermilbeck, and William Rawlinson, of Graithwaite, gentleman; by which the former conveys to Rawlinson for £140 the two ferryboats, and the “ferry passage by water” and “all that House shelter harbour or Coat for Passengers” and a “parcell of Land lying between the places called Slippery Crag to the Nab End or point in the water on both sides of the way,” containing about $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre in Undermilbeck; and also his “right Title interest claim & Demand” or Crowholme Island yielding for ferry and ferry rights 10s. 8d. Lord’s rent “being a part of the yearly free rent of six pounds issuing out of Windermere water” and for the half acre and Island a Lord’s rent of 2d.

6. 12 May, 1707.—Articles of agreement between same William Rawlinson, and William Braithwaite, of Satterhow, yeoman; covenant that the former to convey by 5 June, all above rights for £170, to be paid by Braithwaite on or before 2 Feb next. Further

agreed that the boats are to be kept in repair by Braithwaite with constant attendance in stormy weather. That he shall take no more from passengers than the ancient rates: and that he shall not ever sell the boats to any one on the Westmorland side: and if sold at all, the sale to be accompanied by same conditions.

7. 5 June, 1707.—Indenture carrying out above: Endorsed on back, “for a man & horse and a packe one penny for a footman one penny Excepting the Two ffaire days Yearely at Hauxhead which is double ffee for man and horse.”

8. c. 1726.—Statement of a case shewing that at this date, George Braithwaite, of the Boat, was claiming sole ferriage up and down the Lake. More modern copy of same with notes by Mr. Wm. Rawlinson. Also a letter from Ben. Ayrey, apparently Bailiff to Wm. Rawlinson, 1726, about coales (charcoal), and referring to George Braithwaite’s “Bustle about the boats.” This letter endorsed “to be left at Widdow Gouldneys In Clements Lane.”

9. c. 1800.—A letter from J^{no} Christian Curwen to the Rev^d R. Braithwaite, in answer to a message from the Magistrates, desiring him to remove a notice demanding toll from persons crossing at the Ferry, by other than the Ferry boats. He considers he has *an exclusive right of Ferriage*, and the only highway is in the direction for which he pays rent to the proprietors of fisheries. Wishes to know grounds on which magistrates’ demand is made, so that he may state a case for legal opinion.

III.

RULES OF THE FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

We give in the following pages the original rules of the two friendly societies, which were established a century ago at Hawkshead. The first of these, the Amicable Society, numbered in 1849 360 members, and had a fund of £2,571 16s., and its president at that date was Mr. Thomas Bowman, and Mr. John Taylor its secretary.* The rules were recast about 1833, and a printed copy

* We have also a printed statement dated 1861, shewing that by that year the fund had risen to £3,510 13s. 5d. Its members numbered the same, but had been in 1856 up to 388. The president was still Mr. Bowman, and Mr. John Taylor was clerk and treasurer.

dated 1881 has the title "Rules made, ordained, and established for the better government and guidance of the Society of Good Fellowship called the Amicable Society of Hawkshead in Lancashire. Instituted the 14th day of April, 1792," and certified by a Barrister-at-Law appointed to certify the Rules of Savings banks, and confirmed at Lancaster Quarter Sessions, 8th April, 1833, pursuant to the Act 10, Geo. IV., c. 56. This society was dissolved about 1890.

The female Union Society claims to be the oldest women's amicable society in England. The original rules are dated 1808, but they were revised with additions in 1840. It 1849 its members numbered 204, and its fund amounted to £747 10s. 4d.; and the patroness was Mrs. Beck, of Esthwaite Lodge, and Mr. J. Nicholson, clerk and treasurer. This society has just celebrated its centenary.

A.

RULES TO BE OBSERVED BY THE
AMICABLE SOCIETY.

preamble. We whose names are hereunto subscribed taking into consideration how laudable and commendable it is for Bretheren to live in Unity and the beneficial effects resulting from divers Artists and Societies of Men associating together for their mutual Help and Assistance in time of need and for the promoting of Friendship HAVE unanimously consented and agreed to erect and constitute a club, by the continual subscription of every member, for the better Support and Maintenance of any of them who may at any time hereafter be incapacitated by sickness, or Lameness, to subsist themselves. THEREFORE we do by these presents conclude to stand to and abide by the Articles clauses Rules Orders Regulations and Restrictions herinafter mentioned or referred unto, namely,

ARTICLE 1ST.

the Society named. That this Society shall meet at all Times at such House in Hawkshead in the County of Lancaster as shall be agreed upon by a Majority of the said Society and be from henceforth called and known by the name of "The Amicable Society of Hawkshead."

ARTICLE 2.

*time of monthly
meeting, and
payments.*

That there shall be a Monthly meeting of the Members of this Society from this present fourteenth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, (that is to say) on the second Saturday in every Calendar Month at seven of the clock in the evening, and to continue 'til nine, and every member must pay sixpence into the stock or Fund of the Society, and two pence for his club. Those who live or reside above four miles from Hawkshead shall be allowed six Months to clear off the Books, and then to be sixpence extraordinary, as an equivalent for those who serve in office. Those within four miles who omit to clear off the Books every three months, from the date of their entrance, to fine fourpence; for the fourth month, sixpence; and for the fifth month eightpence; for the use of the Society: On extraordinary occasions of Business the Master and Stewards may continue the Club an Hour longer than usual.

*Fines for
not clearing off
the Books.*

3.

*Every 6 months
Stewards to
account to
their
successors.*

That two members shall serve as stewards for the space of six months, and no longer, and at the conclusion of their stewardship to give a fair and just account of all their Receipts and Disbursements to their successors, who shall be next in their regular turn, according to their entrance; and also to produce to all the Members present a full account of the whole Stock and substance that is in their or the treasurer's hands, for the general satisfaction of the whole society, and if they cannot make up their Accompts according to the Books, they shall be compelled by Law and excluded. Any member refusing to serve the Office of Steward, when in (*sic*) it is in his Turn, shall forfeit Two shillings and sixpence.

*refusing to
serve forfeit
2s. 6d.*

4.

*Master chosen
to inspect
the Accompts
refusing to
serve forfeits
2s. 6d.*

That two members, who have already served the Office of Stewards, be presented to the Society by the present Stewards, one of whom shall be chosen by a majority of the Society to serve as Master to inspect the accompts and Proceedings of the Stewards: Any member so chosen and refusing to serve shall forfeit Two shillings and sixpence.

ARTICLE 5.

Treasurer and Clerk to give Security or his Trust if required. That there shall be a Treasurer and Clerk, belonging to the Society, who shall be one of the Members, and shall be chosen by a majority of the Society, and the said Treasurer and Clerk shall be allowed to take the Books at his Leisure to put in order and form: Each Member shall pay such Treasurer and Clerk one penny every six months; and the said Treasurer and Clerk to give Security, if required, for the faithful performance of his Trust.

6.

Officers to attend every Meeting Night at 7 o'clock in forfeiture of od., and if they don't attend at all vs. 6d. That the Master, Stewards, and Clerk, shall be obliged to attend every Meeting night at seven o'clock, or forfeit 6d., and if they do not attend at all to forfeit one shilling and sixpence each to the common stock unless sick or out of Town, and then to appoint a Deputy.

7.

No person to be a Member who is under 18 or above 40 years of age. That no person be admitted into this Society but those known to be sound healthy men, and not exceeding Forty years of Age, nor under the age of Eighteen. And if after entry it be made appear that any Member was distempered or unhealthy, and above the age of Forty or under the age of Eighteen, before such entrance, he shall be immediately excluded. And every Person that chooses to be a Member of this Society, must appear at the club-room two nights, and then not to be admitted without the consent of a Majority of the members then present.

8.

The Treasurer to keep accmpts, and the Landlord to provide a Room, &c. The Treasurer to keep proper Accompts of what monies be collected or reimbursed belonging to the Society, and the Landlord to provide a Room fit to entertain the Society, also with Candles and Fire, when the Season requires it, against the hour of every Club night, otherwise to forfeit one shilling for every such neglect, for the use of the Society. Every Member *Admission fee 2s. 6d., and 6d. per month to the Stock.* to pay Two shillings and sixpence Entrance; and sixpence per Month to the Capital Stock or Fund, in Sickness and in Health.

ARTICLE 9.

Any person may be introduced for the sake of Company. That any person who is minded for Conversation and to accompany this Society, at the time of their Meeting, shall be Twopence, but not to intermeddle with any affair thereto belonging without leave of the Master and Stewards.

10.

raising disturbances or swearing &c., 3d. forfeit for each offence. That if any member shall raise or foment any Quarrel, or challenge any one, then present, to fight, or that shall be heard to curse or swear, or propose either to game, or lay wagers, or call for either Drink or Tobacco from any but the Stewards, shall for every single Offence, forfeit Threepence for the Benefit of the Society. And if any Member come into the club room disordered with Liquor, and is troublesome, he must be ordered out by the Stewards, and if he refuses to go shall forfeit one shilling.

11.

aspersing another's character &c., in club hours 1s. fine. That if any Member shall reflect on the character or capacity of any other Member in the Time of Club Hours each offending Member shall, for every such single offence, for every such single offence (*sic*) one shilling for the use of the Society.

12.

a Member guilty of any criminal Practice excluded. That if any member is found guilty of Felony, convicted of Treason, or any criminal practice whatever, he shall be expelled the Society; and whatever sums, Members so excluded have paid the Stock, shall be forfeited; any member accusing another of a breach of these articles, reflecting upon any members having Money from the Stock or Fund belonging to the Society, or on *reflecting upon any Members unjustly or aspersing any of the Officers falsely a Fine of 2s. 6d.* any of the Officers belonging thereto, respecting their Proceedings as to their Duty therein, shall pay a Fine of Two Shillings and sixpence, if he cannot prove such charge or accusation to be true.

13.

above 6 months in arrears excluded. No Member to be above six months in Arrears, in his subscription, or Forfeits, on pain of being excluded.

ARTICLE 14.

other causes of exclusion. That no Person shall be admitted into this Society who is a Member of any other of the same nature ; And any of our Members who may enter into any other Society as aforesaid, or into the Army or Navy, shall be excluded. Any person who may serve in the Militia, either by Ballot, or as a Substitute, shall during actual Service remain Neutral ; and then, not to be re-admitted without being sound and healthy, as specified in the seventh Article, and that no Money shall be returned to any Person who may exclude himself, or be excluded this Society.

15.

No Benefit 'til the end of 18 months after his first entrance. That no Member shall receive any Benefit from the Capital Stock or Fund belonging this Society, until the Term of Eighteen months be expired, from the time of his first entrance ; And no Member shall be relieved by this Society who shall incur any Distemper, or Lameness upon himself by any disorderly means.

Nor for any sickness, &c., himself the cause of.

16.

Notice of Affliction to whom & when to be given When any Member, by the Visitation of God, shall be afflicted with Lameness, or Sickness, so that he is not able to work ; such member must give Notice to the Landlord of the House, where this Society is holden, the third day after the beginning of his Affliction, who must give notice to the Stewards forthwith to visit such sick Member, immediately within four miles, and carefully and diligently enquire into the cause of his Sickness, or Lameness, that he may have Relief, if entitled to it, according to the meaning of these Articles, viz., to have Five shillings per week, to commence from the first day of his Sickness, for the space of Twenty weeks, but if he continues to receive from the Fund, beyond that time, then for the Twenty-first week, and every succeeding one, for Twelve weeks longer, he shall only receive the sum of four shillings per week, and the like per week for the remainder of the Year.

Benefit to Sick Members.

ARTICLE 17.

Other Relie in case of Accidental Infirmitly. That if any member through Age, or Accident, become blind, lame or infirm, so that he is incapable of supporting himself, with working, he shall receive Two shillings and sixpence per Week, from the Society. That every such decayed Member shall be obliged to pay sixpence per Month and no more, and may be permitted to follow any petty employment for his better support, giving Notice to the Society of what kind of work his Employment consists, without being accounted any Imposition ; And no Bye Law, Rule or Order, hereafter to be made, shall break this Article.

18.

Funeral. That on the death of any Member, the Stewards must give such Member's Widow, if he leaves one, if not, to his next legal representative, Four pounds, out of the Fund, to have him decently buried ; and as many of the Members to attend as can conveniently. And each Member within four miles of Hawkshead shall pay sixpence extraordinary on the first club Night after the said Funeral. Those who reside above four miles from Hawkshead to pay at the Time specified to clear the Books.

19.

retiring to any part of the King's Dominions, causing a non-attendance & continuing Members. All persons belonging to this Society who may at any time have occasion to retire to any part of the King's Dominions, so that the Distance be so far from Hawkshead that they cannot possibly attend at the accustomed Times of Meeting shall notwithstanding, still be continued as Members, and have as good Right and Title to the Fund or Stock of this Society and Benefits thereof, as those present, and shall have such Remittances of Money, as their Necessities require, according is (*sic*) before directed, on condition that a certificate is sent, signed by the Minister, or Churchwardens, where such sick Member resides, who shall certify his complaint, the particulars of which shall be explained by the Surgeon, or apothecary ; and if his claims be just, and not contradicting the fifteenth Article, his payments, as they become

In case of Insanity. due, shall be remitted to him. And in case any Member is afflicted with Insanity, and it is found expedient to put him a patient in any Lunatic Hospital, the Society shall pay the Expenses that may occur, not exceeding the sum of Three pounds, which shall be deemed part of the Benefit and deducted accordingly. And upon his Recovery the Society shall pay to him what money is due to such Benefits, as is allowed, but in case of Death, of an unmarried Member, such residue of Benefit shall devolve to the Society; but if he is married, his Family shall have the residue of the Benefit, as it becomes due; And in both cases their Funeral shall be provided the same as others.

ARTICLE 20.

receiving the Benefit unworthily, & excluded & disgraced. That if any Member receive the Benefit of this Society not worthily, and if it be proved by any person, or persons, that any Member so receives the same, such unworthy Member shall be excluded this Society, as a person of neither Honour, Honesty, nor Integrity, and never more to be re-admitted a Member of this Society.

21.

Surgeon. That the Master and Stewards with a majority of the Members present at any Monthly Meeting shall be at Liberty to contract with any Surgeon for the year, either to visit the several Members belonging the Society, or to act therein as Surgeon solely to it when and as often as occasion requires, upon such Terms they may think most conducive and beneficial to the preservation of the Health of the several Members of the same. And that in case the Stock or Fund raised, should not be sufficient to answer the Demands of the Sick, Lane, and other Incidentals, which may happen to become chargeable thereon, the Master shall lay an additional Assessment on each Member's Monthly pay, as will keep the said capital Stock, or Fund, in Bank, belonging to the Society at the sum of Thirty pounds. And every Member who shall be absent, shall be liable to their equal Proportion with those present at such assessment.

ARTICLE 22.

Annual Feast. That there shall be an annual Feast on the first day of January, and if Sunday, on the following day, in every year; for which each Member, is to pay one shilling and sixpence, viz., one shilling for Victuals, and sixpence for Liquor, which is to be in Ale at all times; each member to be present, or depute a Person in his Room, who shall be equal to the Members present.

23.

Concealing the Admittes of an unqualified Person, forfeits 20s. That all the present Members shall be obliged to sign these Articles, and every new Member shall do the same, at his or their first entrance, And any Member knowing any of the Persons so applying for Admittance to be unqualified, and conceals it from the Master and Stewards, shall forfeit Twenty shillings.

24.

Disputes determined at any monthly Meeting. It is agreed that all disputes shall be determined by a majority of the Members present, and any Member who will not agree to such Determination, shall be excluded.

25.

Power to add, alter, or amend any of the Articles. And it is furthur agreed that the Master and Stewards with the majority of the other members present at any Monthly Meeting, shall be at Liberty to alter or amend any of the foregoing Articles, from various circumstances that may happen, or chance events intervene and occasion by inserting or adding any new clauses Rules Orders or Regulations thereto, as they the said Master and Stewards shall then judge and think most proper for the better management and carrying into effect the Purport and Intent of this Association and the well ordering and Government thereof.

Then follows the names of seventeen members.

26.

place of meeting. It is also agreed that John Rooks and John Jopson be the stewards for the first six months pursuant to the foregoing Articles. And that the next meeting of

this Society be holden at the House of Giles Boulton in Hawkshead, Innkeeper, pursuant to the second Article.

Then the names of eight more members, 12 May, 1792.

ARTICLE 27TH.

Resolved that no person being a Miner or Slate Quarrier and following their livelihood by working in the Mines or Quarries shall be a Member of this Society.

B.

THE RULES, ORDERS
AND
RESOLUTIONS
OF THE
FEMALE UNION SOCIETY
OF
HAWKSHEAD
IN
LANCASHIRE

INSTITUTED THE 6TH DAY OF AUGUST
1798

Allowed confirmed (see folio 64) by his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Lancaster; at their General Quarter Session holden at Lancaster the 10 day of January 1808 pursuant to "The Act of Parliament for the Encouragement & Relief of Friendly Societies."

Preamble.

Considering that, in our present state, all are liable to sicknesses & infirmities; and believing that a well regulated, Friendly Society is the best calculated to alleviate those calamities, by the relief which it affords, without the degradation of dependence; we, whose names are to the following Rules subscribed, do mutually agree to form a Society, to be called the "Female Union Society of Hawkshead," for the purposes, and on the principles, rules, and regulations which here follow, to the due observation & performance of which, we hereby bind ourselves in the most solemn manner.

Rule the First.

The Female Union Society of Hawkshead shall be formed & continued by the admission of sound & healthy women of good

moral character, between the ages of eighteen & thirty five years ; who shall contribute sixpence a month each for the creating & maintaining a fund for the mutual relief and support of its several members, when unable to work, through sickness, accident, or old age, and for the better securing of the decent Christian burial of such members & for no other purpose whatsoever ; nor shall any part of the said fund, or anything received in aid thereof, by voluntary contributions, or subscriptions, from honorary members be divided, or applied otherwise than as is ordained and appointed by the rules regularly allowed and registered as the act for the encouragement of Friendly Societies requires.

Second.

That this Society shall be governed by a Patroness, two Stewards, a Clerk or Treasurer, and a Committee. The Patroness shall be elected by a majority of the Society attending at the Yearly Meeting, and shall continue in office one year, at the end of which time there shall be a fresh election ; but the same person may serve again, provided she be re-chosen.

The Stewards shall be chosen in the same manner and shall continue in office three months, at the end whereof, they shall name six members, out of whom, two shall be chosen, to serve the office or the same period, by the majority then present.

The Clerk or Treasurer shall be chosen in like manner, and shall remain in office so long as is agreeable to himself and the Society : he shall receive an annual stipend for his trouble, out of the fund.

The Committee shall consist of eleven members, and shall be chosen when circumstances may require it, as follows : namely, five by the Patroness, and three by each of the Stewards.

The duty of the Patroness is to superintend the concerns of the Society ; to enforce the laws ; inflict fines agreeable to the rules ; and in conjunction with the Stewards, to convene meetings, in case of emergency ; and to consult with the Treasurer, as to placing the funds of the Society under proper securities.

The duty of the Stewards shall be to make a report of all persons desirous of becoming members ; to visit sick members within twenty four hours after the time their declaration is received, and once a week alternately during their sickness, provided they reside within the Parish of Hawkshead, and they shall report their situation to the Society the next club night ; and if it appear by the Rules that

such members are entitled to relief, they shall pay the allowances accordingly; but if they have any difficulty relating to the execution of their office, they shall report the same to the Society, and act by the opinion of the Committee, to be for that purpose chosen on that night.

They shall receive the report and entrance money, collect the monthly payments, fines, and all other dues; & account to the Treasurer for the same; they shall convene members to attend funerals, and pay for the same agreeable to the Rules.

The duty of the Clerk or Treasurer, shall be to keep the books of the Society, and to enter the receipts and payments every club night; to produce a clear and distinct account, properly balanced at the end of each year, of all receipts and payments made by him, on account of the Society; and to issue out notices for any particular meetings, agreeable to the orders of the Patroness or Stewards.

The duty of the Committee shall be to examine into any disputed claim on the Society, in which they shall assess and fix the quantum of dues to the claimant, according to the evidence; they shall investigate any charge made against any member for breach of rules, and determine the penalty agreeable to the same; they shall arbitrate in all disputes that may unfortunately occur, and determine all points and questions not expressly provided for by the Rules, and recommend such additions, alterations, or modifications in the same as may obviate the recurrence of like difficulties in future; but they shall decide nothing without a majority of two to one, or upwards; any point submitted to their decision, which is not carried by such a majority shall be referred back to the meeting, and determined by a majority of all the members then present.

No member shall be compelled to serve any office twice, till all the rest, residing in the parish of Hawkshead, shall have served it once; and any of the officers who may not be able to attend with convenience may desire another member to act in her place: members residing out of the Parish of Hawkshead may be exempted from serving any office, on paying sixpence annually, at the general meeting on Whitsun Tuesday.

Third.

That no person be admitted a member of this Society, but those known to be sound healthy women, of the age of eighteen, and not

exceeding thirty five years ; and if after entry, it be made to appear that any member was unhealthy, or distempered, or not of the age aforesaid, before such entrance, she shall be excluded. And every person that wishes to be a member of this Society, must appear one night before she can be admitted, and then not to be admitted without the consent of a majority of the members then present. She must pay one shilling at the time proposed to be a member, and four shillings more at the time of her admittance, and one penny for her night-expenses.

Fourth.

That this Society shall meet at all the appointed times hereafter, at such notice (*sic*) as shall be agreed upon by a majority of the members ; at which place there shall be a meeting of the members of this Society on the first Saturday in every calendar month, at seven o'clock in the evening, and to continue till the business of each member is completed : every member shall then pay sixpence to the fund, and one penny for her night-expenses.

Fifth.

The Patroness, Clerk, and Stewards shall attend, in the Club Room, every meeting, at seven o'clock, unless sick or otherwise necessarily engaged, in which case they, or any of them thus engaged, must individually appoint another member, or other members, to serve for her or them.

Sixth.

That no member shall be above three months in arrear, except those who reside at a distance of five miles or more from Hawkshead, who may have six months to pay up their arrears, or be excluded from the benefit of this Society.

Seventh.

That there shall be a Yearly Meeting of this Society on Whitsun Tuesday, when the several members shall appear personally, and shall attend divine service in the parish church of Hawkshead, and shall return to the club room to partake of a dinner, to be provided by the Stewards, for which every member, residing within ten miles of Hawkshead, shall pay eighteenpence, and threepence for liquor, whether present or not ; and those beyond ten miles, not being present, shall pay only sixpence for liquor. A short abstract of the receipts and disbursements of this Society shall be

printed, yearly, and a copy thereof delivered on this day to each member; for which and the sermon, payment must be made out of the fund.

Eighth.

That no person be admitted a member of this Society who is a member of any other; and if any of the members of this Society shall enter into any other, she shall be immediately excluded from this; nor shall any excluded member have any right or title to any money from this Society.

Ninth.

No member shall receive any relief from the fund for the space of eighteen months from the date of her admission, but after that time if any member shall fall sick, or from unavoidable accidents be disabled from following her trade or employment, she shall then be entitled to receive six shillings p week subject however, to the following regulations:—She must send notice to the Stewards of her situation, so that they may inquire into the same, and give orders, if lawful, that she receive the pension; members residing out of the parish of Hawkshead must send a certificate in the form annexed, signed by the minister or overseer of the parish where she resides, as also by the Doctor who attends her, to be renewed (if required) every month; every member on the sick list, when recovered from her illness, must give notice thereof to the Stewards, and if before such notice, any member can, at any time, be proved to have been working in her usual occupation, or doing anything by which money is earned, or be seen at any place of amusement, or abroad after sunset, she shall forfeit five shillings and be no longer entitled to her pension during that illness.

N.B. The above prohibitions are not to be understood to extend to knitting sewing, or other light and easy employment, in domestic business, for the necessities of the family, which are allowed to be followed in a moderate degree, and with due attention to the recovery of health. If any member's sickness shall continue longer than sixteen weeks, without any intermission of six successive weeks or upwards, she shall after that period receive no more than three shillings a week, and any member who shall discontinue her claim on the fund, for any part of the said six weeks, without being actually in good health, and for the

purpose of recovering again the full allowance of six shillings a week, shall, on due proof thereof, be fined ten shillings ; and be excluded from all further benefit from the fund, for the remainder of the sickness or infirmity for which she so claims.

In case the fund should ever sink so low, as not to contain three pounds, ten shillings for each member, the allowance for sick members, then, is to be reduced to four shillings a week, for the first sixteen weeks, and two shillings a week (if the sickness continue) afterwards ; but should the fund again rise to the above sum, the full allowance, as aforesaid, is again to be granted.

Tenth.

That no member shall receive any pension on account of her pregnancy, upon pain of exclusion ; nor until one month be expired after the time of her delivery, and then, if she be not able to do her work, to be relieved according to the ninth rule.

Eleventh.

That if any member by age or accident, become blind or lame, so that she is not able to work, and not likely to recover, she shall, during life, receive two shillings a week from the Society, and every such decayed member, shall pay sixpence a month and no more ; and may be permitted to follow any petty employment for her better support, without being accounted any imposition on the Society.

Twelfth.

That if any member, who may be entitled to the pension, either whole or reduced, shall become chargeable to the place to which she belongs, and thereby be under necessity of residing in the workhouse ; her pension shall be regularly paid to herself, or, in case of inability, to a person whom she may appoint to receive the same, in order that it may be laid out for her nourishment or necessaries solely, and in such a manner as not to interfere with, or infringe on the established rules, of the house, where she may then reside ; but if the officers, to whom the management of the poor is entrusted, shall, at any time, endeavour to prevent the pension from being appropriated to the use aforesaid, then shall her pension immediately cease ; nor shall the Society be accountable for the same to any person, unless the officers aforesaid, or their successors do in future agree that the money in question

shall be expended according to the regulations aforesaid, in which case, her pension shall re-commence, or if she shall at any time be enabled to quit the workhouse, by recovery of her health, or otherwise, she shall be again considered a member; but in neither case shall the Society be accountable for arrears of money, by her pensions being discontinued in the manner aforementioned.

Thirteenth.

If any member be found guilty of felony, or any riotous violation of the laws, she shall be expelled this Society.

Fourteenth.

That if any member shall use any indecent language, or reflect on the character or capacity of any member, or refuse to be silent, or sit in her place, when ordered by the Patroness or her Assistants, she shall forfeit two pence; and if any member shall, unless legally required so to do, expose the transactions of this Society to any person or persons not being members of this Society, tending to disturb the peace and good order thereof, such person shall forfeit a shilling to the box, or be excluded by a majority of the members present.

Fifteenth.

If any member shall die after the space of one year from the date of her admission into this Society, her relations shall receive from the stewards one guinea towards the expenses of her funeral; and if after the space of two years, two guineas; and if after the space of three years, three guineas. And it is required that the Patroness and Stewards, with four other members residing in Hawkshead, or within two miles thereof, whom they shall summon to attend them, do meet at the club room, and go from thence to the house of the deceased, if situated in Hawkshead; but if elsewhere, to meet the corpse at the end of the town, and thence attend her funeral to the place of interment.

Sixteenth.

Should any lady wish to become an honorary member, she may be admitted as such by paying to the fund, the sum of five shillings; but no honorary member can receive any benefit from the Society.

Seventeenth.

That the several penalties annexed to the respective offences, which are specified in the following list or table of fines, shall be paid, as follows: namely, the annexed fines, from No. 1 to 12 inclusive, shall be paid the next club night after such fines are imposed, or with the first payment that is afterwards made to the fund; but the three following, Nos. 13, 14, 15, incurred in the club room, shall be paid the same night.

Nos.	s.	d.
1. Any member appointed Patroness, and refusing to serve, shall forfeit...	5	0
2. Any member appointed a Steward and refusing to serve shall forfeit ...	2	6
3. Any member appointed a Committee woman, & refusing to serve, shall forfeit ...		6
4. The Patroness or the Stewards, not attending at the club room, any club night, by seven o'clock, forfeit ...		6
5. The Patroness or the Stewards not attending at all, or any one of them not appointing a substitute, forfeit ...	1	
6. The Patroness, by neglecting her duty, to forfeit, for each offence ...	2	
N.B.—Should any honorary member accept the office of Patroness, she shall be exempted from all attendance, except when notice is sent her by the stewards, that her presence is required.		
7. A steward neglecting her duty, each offence ...	1	
8. Any member neglecting to attend any funeral, or procuring a substitute after being duly summoned, to forfeit ...	1	
9. Any member neglecting to attend when summoned, or sending a substitute for a committee woman, forfeit ...	1	
10. Any member not paying or sending her money between the hours of seven & eight o'clock except those residing out of the parish of Hawkshead, forfeit ...		2
11. Any member finding fault with any determination of the Patroness, a committee, or a majority of members at any meeting, forfeit ...	1	

Nos.	s.	d.
12. Any member exposing the transactions of this Society tending to disturb the peace and good order thereof, forfeit	1	
13. Any member using improper or abusive language, each offence	2	
14. Any member refusing to be seated, when ordered by the Stewards	2	
15. Any member interrupting the business by talk, noise, or any other disturbance, forfeit	2	

Any member who shall refuse duly to pay the preceding fines at the times specified or within the month after being admonished by the Patroness so to do ; or in any other respect refuse to comply with the laws & regulations of this Society, such refractory member shall forthwith be expelled, and forfeit all right, interest, or claim in or to the stock or fund of this Society.

Eighteenth

This Society shall not be dissolved so long as anything remains in the fund, or any three members are willing to support it ; and if any member propose to break up the Society or to divide any part of the money she shall be expelled. But whenever three-fourths of the members of an annual meeting shall deem it necessary, they may alter, amend, or repeal any of the Rules ; or make any addition thereto which does not so tend to dissolve the Society, or to defeat the primary purpose of its institution, and such alterations, when entered by the Clerk, amongst the Rules, and allowed and confirmed by the Justices at a Quarter Session, shall become equally valid and binding on the members, as the original constitutions.

Nineteenth

That the following Declaration be made and subscribed, by each member ; and that, at the time of her admission into this Society.

“I do truly and sincerely declare that I am not, to the best of my knowledge, above the age of thirty-five, nor under the age of eighteen years ; that I am not joined with any other Society ; that, to the best of my knowledge, I am of a healthy, and sound constitution, and have not any private disorder, and that I will to the best of my power, act in all things for the

good of this Society, and by God's assistance will conform to the Rules and Regulations of the same, whilst I continue a member thereof; and I do declare that I will not complain of sickness or lameness, so as to be troublesome to the fund without a just cause; and if it shall please God to visit me with either, so as to oblige me to apply to the Society for relief, I will, to the best of my judgement, use every possible means, to recover my health & strength, so as to become capable of following my business or occupation, and I will then give notice to the Stewards, that I may not intrude any longer upon the fund, neither will I endanger my health by going to work, before I can with safety."

Then follows the prescribed forms for letters to the Treasurer on the occasions of application for relief during sickness or lameness, and of the death, of any member, to be signed by the Minister and Surgeon, or Minister and Clerk; and a list of members from 1809 is then given.

The rules are well written in a copper-plate hand, with many flourishes.

IV.

LISTS OF INCUMBENTS, SCHOOLMASTERS, CHURCHWARDENS, &c.

The list we give of the Incumbents of Hawkshead is not very complete. From Thomas Bell to the end, the names are well authenticated: but the two Magsons (who were also the Hawkshead schoolmasters), Booth, Edmondson, and Nicholson, are from a list made by the Reverend John Allen, son of the last vicar but one. The two Magsons occur repeatedly in the parish register, as fathers to baptized infants, but the name is always unaccompanied by any title or anything to show that they held the post of minister. In Gastrell's "Notitia," however, we find that at this date the Bishop of Chester licensed "Mr. Mason to serve ye cure," which evidently is a clerical error for Magson. William Kempe was the Presbyterian minister for Hawkshead in the ninth "Classis" of Lancashire in that scheme, but it does not seem ascertained whether he was appointed to Hawkshead

before 1649. Charles Crowe, or Crew, seems to have succeeded a very brief ministry of Boothe, and possibly to have given way again to Kempe. The evidence we have seen on the subject is confined to "The 1649 Survey of Church Lands,"* where both Kempe and Crowe occur, but the dates are obscure; and "The Register of Church Livings, 1654" (Lansdowne MS. 459), at which date Kempe was minister. We are unaware of Mr. Allen's authority for the introduction of the name of Boothe.

INCUMBENTS OF HAWKSHEAD.

Pre-Reformation

John Tayleyor

(In the Rental of Abbot Roger "Item domino Johanni Tayleyor Curat' de Capella de Hawkshead vjli: xiijs. iiijd.")

Post Reformation

Peter Magson...	...	...	...	...	Early years of James I.	
Francis Magson	...	...	...	...	...	c. 1621
William Kempe	...	...	...	...	Presbyterian minister, 1649-1654?	
John Boothe	...	...	...	...	...	1654
Charles Crowe, or Crew	...	...	...	...	...	1654?-1656
William Kempe?	...	...	...	...	...	1657
Christopher Edmondson	...	...	...	...	...	1664
Henry Nicholson	...	...	...	...	...	1677
Thomas Bell	...	...	...	...	...	1682
Richard Swainson	...	...	...	...	...	1714
William Bordley	...	...	...	...	...	1720
John Harrison	...	...	...	...	...	1742
Reginald Braithwaite	...	...	...	...	...	1762
John Rees	...	...	...	...	...	1810
George Park	...	...	...	...	...	1812
Patrick Comerford Law	...	...	...	...	...	1829
Lovick Cooper	...	...	...	...	...	1830
George Park	...	...	...	...	...	1834
Richard Greenall	...	...	...	...	...	1865
John Allen	...	...	...	...	...	1875
Edward W. Oak	...	...	...	...	...	1892

It may be of interest to subjoin to this list the following account of a petition to raise the minister's stipend in 1585, the same year in which the school was founded.

* This is printed in "Furness and Cartmel Notes," by Henry Barber, M.D., 1894.

In 1585 the inhabitants petitioned the chancellor of the Dutchy—
 “That where the Quenes Maiestie is seased of the ympropriat
 psonadge or Rectory of Hawkeshed . . . pcell of the possessions
 of the Late dissolved Monasterie . . . which Rectorie is to
 her Ma^{tie} of the yerelie value of fourescore and tenne poundes
 or thereaboutē and no vicar beinge endowed, her Ma^{tie} alloweth
 tenne poundes yerelie to finde a stipendarie Minister to serve the
 cure ther. So it is (that albeit in tymes past the said stipend
 would have founde a convenient mīster) nowe through the greate
 dearth of this tyme and scarcitie of mete mīsters, that for that
 stipend ther can none be reteigned but such as be very meanelie
 learned and utterlie unfitt to instructe the people, and expounde
 or open to them the worde of God. And forasmuch as the
 pishe is very greate, at the leaste xxx Miles about and more,
 and the inhabitantē of the pishe at the Least twoe thowsande
 psons, and the countrie nere about hath neither p^rcher nor anie
 scole where to either the pishion^{rs} Maie resort to be edified, or
 their children resort to be instructed in the cathechisme or any
 other good Learninge” the parishioners beg that a greater allow-
 ance may be made out of the Rectory, to enable some learned
 man to both serve the cure and to teach. The petition was
 endorsed by the Bishop of London.

Thereupon, on 19th Feb., 17 Eliz. (1585), the Queen issued a
 commission to Christopher Preston, “Receyvor” of Furness, John
 Braddill, Raffe Assheton, Christopher Sandes and Myles Philipson,
 who were directed to meet at Hawkshead, and to enquire about
 the number of inhabitants and size, etc., of the parish: and further
 to report whether £10 be insufficient, and if so, to consider how
 much more should be added.

On the 27th March, the same year, the commission, with the
 exception of Assheton, met at Hawkshead and having examined
 on oath “all the head pishioners and also xxiii^jth personnes of
 the most auncient substanciall and best credyte chosen and
 appoynted for the well governemt and oversight of the said
 parishe and churche That is to saye ffraunce Sande gentleman
 Thoms Rallenson, Rowland Nicholson Robert Brathwait George
 Dodgson Ric Satterthwait John Brathwait Willm Sawrey Myles
 Tomlinson Willm Walker Anthonie Bankē Rolland Walker Gefferey
 Holme Robte Rigge Symon Sande leonard Brathwaite Myles Sawrey

Thoms Dodgson Crist Tailor Thoms holme Rowland ffearson Georg Makreth Robert Benson Anthonie Rigge Clement Rigge and others," they reported, First "ther be tennte and housholders wthin the said parishe of Haukehead to the numb^r of sexe hundred or above and at the leist fyve thowsande of people resyant wthin the said Parishe" Item "the circuite and compasse aboute the utter parte of the said parishe . . . is at the leist ffourtye myles And wthin all the same precyncte and compasse no schole kept for comen people Neth^r yet in any parishe next adioyning to the same."

Item "the mynist^r there hath but onely in yerely stipend tenne pownde to lyve upon."

And further, "the said stipend of tenne pownde is not sufficient to keip an able mynist^r to s^ve the cure there. And that xx li more to make the said x li the yearly stipend of xxx li is so lytte as may suffyce to fynde a learned minist^r to s^ve and guyde so great a charge in that so huge a countrie and the peple there so rustically." *

MASTERS OF HAWKSHEAD SCHOOL.

Peter Magson, A.M.	...	...	...	...	April 10, 1585
Francis Magson	...	...	...	...	... 1616
William Bordley	...	...	...	...	... 1647
James Bowness	...	...	...	...	... 1669
Myles Sawrey...	...	...	...	...	August 1, 1671
John Sadler	...	...	...	...	August 19, 1672
Robert Myers...	...	...	...	...	August, 1691
Robert Bullfill	...	...	...	...	January, 1693
Jos. Hunter, A.M.	...	...	...	...	January, 1717
Strickland Shepherd, A.M.	...	...	...	...	April 10, 1726
Richard Dixon, A.M.	...	...	...	...	... June 3, 1736
Christopher Hall, A.M.	...	...	...	...	July 26, 1745
Lancelot Docker, A.M.	...	...	...	...	... 1756
Richard Hewitt, A.M.	...	...	...	...	... 1758
James Peake, A.M.	...	...	...	...	... 1766
Edward Christian, A.M.	...	...	...	...	... 1781
W. Taylor, A.M.	...	...	...	...	... 1781
Thomas Bowman, A.M.	...	...	...	...	... 1786
Daniel Banfield Hickie, LL.D.	...	...	...	...	... 1829
Haygarth Taylor Baines, A.M.	...	...	...	...	... 1862
J. R. B. Owen, A.M.	...	...	...	...	... 1881
R. M. Samson, M.A.	...	...	...	...	... 1883

* "Dutchy of Lancaster Surveys," 17 Eliz., No. 5, Record Office. We are indebted to the late Capt. A. L. Swainson for a copy, from which the above is abstracted.

LISTS OF CHURCHWARDENS.

The lists of Churchwardens elected each year are fairly complete from 1716 to 1773; but after that date the names are generally taken from the accounts rendered. It is evident, however, by comparing the names of the elected wardens with those who rendered the accounts the same years, that it was very usual for the persons elected not to serve. No doubt they appointed deputies.

H., Hawkshead division or quarter; C., Monk Coniston and Skelwith; Cl., Claife; S., Satterthwaite.

1716. John Wright (H.) Geo. Banke (C.) Edwd. Sawrey (Cl.) Tho. Dixon (S.)
 1717. W^m Nicholson (H.) Clemt. Holme (Cl.) W^m Taylor of fieldhead (S.)
 John Jackson (C.)
 1718. Tho. Braithwt of Hill. Myles Sawrey of Watterh^d. Wm. Braithwt of
 fould in Sawrey. Rich^d Rigge of Craggh^d in Satterthwt.
 1719. W^m Braithwt of Bryers (H.) Robt. Holme of Holmeground (C.) W^m
 Braithwt of Wray (Cl.) Tho. Strickland of Daleparke (S.)
 1720. Hugh Cowp^rthwt of Hawkshead. Edw^d Harrison of Coniston. Benjⁿ
 Townson of Grisedale. W^m Braithwt of Lainhead in Sawrey Extra.
 1721. Clemt. Satterthwt. (H.) Will^m Benson of Skelleth. Thom^s Satterthwt (Cl.)
 Rich^d Rigge, below Cragge (S.)
 "Clemt Satterthwt afores^d being elected Churchwⁿ ye fores^d day for
 ye division of Hawksh^dfield contrary to custom by the opinion of the
 majority of ye 24 within ye s^d Divisioⁿ. Now Jona Braithwt of fould in
 Hawksh^d field is this 13th day of April 1721 elected churchwⁿ in ye room
 of ye s^d Clem Satterthwt by ye Rev^d Mr. Bordley."
 1722. George Rigge of feildh^d at Borwick g^d. Francis Knipe of Tarnhows.
 Will^m Braithwt son of Robt. de Sawrey. Robt. Scales of Thwt.head for
 Dalepk.

The last three are bracketted and "Memd that ye office of Churchwⁿ
 is not to be in ye Dalep. Q^r for ye space of six year." written after.

1723. Clemt. Satt^rthwt (H.) Antho. Atkinson (C.) Will^m Cowp^rthwt (Cl.) Will^m
 Dixon (S.)
 1724. John Watt^rson of Watt^rson ground. George Penny of Conistone. Mr.
 Maichell for Sawreys. W^m Turner for Satterthwt.
 1725. Charles Dickinson. Clemt. Satterthwt for Bulleclose. W^m Satt^rthwt of
 Beckside. J^{no} Scales of Grisedale.
 1726. W^m Rigge (H.) Geo. Walker de Yewtree (C.) Joseph Tayl^r de Sawrey
 (Cl.) J^{no} Satt^rthwt de Sattr^{wt} (S.)
 1727. Clemt. Rigge. Jam^s Jackson. Antho. Hall. Myles Holme ("for Grisedale
 Hall").
 1728. Hugh Addison. Robt. Jackson. Geo. Braithwt of Low Satterhow. Thomas
 Walker of Dalepk.

1730. John Borwick. W^m Kirkby. Thos. Braithwt de Castle. Jam^s Penington.
1731. Adam Walker. Geo. Braithwt of Boat for his Estate beyond field. John Robinson of Arnside. John ffearson.
1732. John Lancast^r Outyate. John Rownson of Conistone. J^{no} Braithwt old Tan^r of Sawry. Myles Walker of Dalepk.
1733. Edward Scales. Gawen Braithwt Jun^r for Pull. Jam^s Redh^d for Lonethwt. Jam^s Strickland.
1734. John Rigge Skinnerhow. ffancis Knipe. Geo. Braithwt of Hatt^{rs},* Robt. Knipe.
1735. George Taylor of Hawkshead. John Walker of Hodgclose. Occ^{rs} of Low Wreys--estate. John Russell of fforce forg.
1736. Occ^{rs} of Robt. Robinson's Estate. George Kirkby. John Dixon. John Rigge of fforce mill.
1737. Myles Braithwt. James Benson. Clement Holme. Peter Newby.
1738. John Braithwt oth Hill. W^m Harrison oth Hollenbank. W^m Rigge of Sawrey. Thos. Dixon of Satterthwt.
1739. William Nicholson. Will. Walker of Arnside. Thos. Satterthwt for Wm. of Wrey. John Thompson.
1740. John Jackson of Birkro. Robert Birket. W^m Taylor of Briers. John Satterthwt of Satt^rwt.
1741. Edward Scales. Jossua Alinson. Thos. Satterthwt. Tho. Dixon for W^m Dixon Estate.
1742. George Borwick. Edward Sawrey. Tho. Braithwt son of William. J^{no} fförrest for widow Chamney's estate.
1743. Will^m Whinfield. Occ^{rs} of Thos Jacksons at Oxenfell. Occ^{rs} of John Wilsons. Thos Dixon Weav^r.
1744. Hugh Cowperthwt. Anthony Sawrey for Townson ground. Thos. Mowson Sawrey. Will^m Turner Satterthwt.
1745. George Benson for his wifes estate at how. Tho^s Dixson for Gawin Braithwt. Henry Forest for Widow Strickl^{ds} estate. John Mowson for Crag.
1746. James Braithwt Hill. Anthony Sawrey Waterh^d. Will^m Brait^t son of Robt. Tho. Dixon his own Estate.
1747. Adam Taylor. Matthew Brockbank. Will^m Braithw^{te} Wrey. Thos. Newby.
1748. Occ^{rs} of Ann Lancasters. Occ^{rs} of Mr. Machells Estate at park Moore. Jame Harrison howhead. Will^m Denison for his estate at Satterhow.
1749. Geo. Braithw^{te} Fouldg^{te}. James Benson. Mr. John Satterthw^{te}. Tho^s. Wilson for Gridale Hall.
1750. Geo. Rigge Skinnerhow. Occ^{rs} John Jackson's Estate at Park House. Occ^{rs} Hill Top Sawrey. Occ^{rs} Wid^w Lancaster Estate.
1751. Thos. Satterthw^{te}. Anthony Holme. Ben. Garnett. Charles Dickinson.
1752. Rob^t Rigge. John Wilson Bank g^d. Thos. Carter Fould Far Sawrey. William Barker.
1753. Charles Dickinson. Mr Gawen Braithw^{te}. Will^m Braithw^{te}. Will^m Penny.

* That is George, son of — Braithwaite, the hat maker.

1754. Geo. Braithw^{te}. William Johnson. Ben. Townson. Willi^m Braithw^{te} for Geo. or Jos. Taylor.
1755. Edward Scales. John Benson Fouldhead. Tho^s Strickland. Ben. Townson for M^{rs} Satterthw^{te} Estate.
1756. John Birket. John Jackson. Daniel Fisher. William Townson.
1757. Edw^d Scales for M^r Colthred. M^r Gawen Braithw^{te}. M^r Moor. M^r Forde.
1758. Geo. Benson. James Harrison. M^r W^m Rigge at Sawrey. Ben. Townson for M^{rs} Stricklands at Dale Park head.
1759. John Thwaites. W^m Spedding for Ed Park's estate at Fouldhead. W^m Ornaby beyond Field. Ben Townson for M^r Harrison estate at Dalepark.
1760. Samuel Turner. William Atkinson for Ellwoods estate. John Braithw^{te} Hooper. Benj. Townson for M^r Strickland Estate at Middle Dalepark.
1761. Enoch Ritson for M^r Mackreth. James Benson. W^m Rigge for Colthouse. Benjⁿ Townson for M^r Scales.
1762. Willi^m Denison. William Atkinson. Joseph Taylor. Ben Townson for M^r Halls estate.
1763. Samuel Sandys. Tho^s Alinson. Occ^{rs} of Law Wrey for Beck's estate. Occ^{rs} of M^r Stricklands estate at Lowend Dalepark.
1764. Isaac Wilson (H.) Geo. Birket (C.) Geo. Brait^e Boat (Cl.) Tho^s Newby for Myles Sandys Esq^r (S.)
1765. William Nicholson (H.) John Knipe (C.) J^e Robinson (Cl.) Tho^s Nuby for M^r Rawlinson (S.)
1766. James Park for M^r Grays House (H.) Matthew Kirkby (C.) William Dawson (Cl.) Thos Newby (S.)
1767. W^m Braithwaite Saddler. John Benson for Bull Close. Ed. Backhouse for Dobsons estate Low Wrey. Tho^s Newby for M^r. Rawlinson.
1768. Thomas Hodgson. George Kirkby. Occ^{rs} of Lanchhead for Far Sawrey. Tho^s Newby for Myles Sandys Esq^r.
1769. W^m Turner. Robt. Jopson. John Benson. Tho^s Bellingham for Myles Sandys Esq^{rs}.
1770. Jos. Keen for Edw. Satterthw^{te}. John Rowlinson. W^m Brat^e for Jos. Taylor. Robert Cozin.
1771. William Knipe. John Midlefell for park house. John Robinson Wrey. M^r John Russell.
1772. John Coward. James Harrison. Anthony Garnet. William Townson.
1773. George Park. James Jackson. John Jackson. Tho^s Bellingham.
1774. Geo Park for M^{rs} Braithwt. James Middlebrough. John Hawkrigg for Castel. Thos. Bellingham.
1775. M^{rs} Whinfield.* Anthony Atkinson. Geo. Braithwt for his Estate at Wrey. John Kittchen.
1776. Joseph Keen. James Harrison. John Brait^e. John Kitchen.
1777. Isaac Holme. Anthony Holme. M^r John Satterth^{te} his own Estate. John Kitchen.

* Apparently the only instance of a woman. The accounts shew that she did not act.

- 1778. Robt Knipe. Geo. Knott Esq^r. John Hogarth. James Rowlandson.
- 1779. John Sawrey. Samuel Tyson. Ed. Backhouse. John Dickinson.
- 1780. Edward Otley. Anthony Sawrey. M^r Matchels Estate. M^r Penington's estate.
- 1781. M^r William Stephenson. William Jackson Holme Gd. M^r Strickland Crofthead. Tho^s Bellingham.
- 1782. Myles Robinson. David Kirkby. M^r W^m Rigge for town-end and Sawrey. James Fisher.
- 1783. Giles Boulton. Christopher Hewertson. William Brathwaite. John Pearson.
- 1784. M^r Joseph Varty. Giles Boulton. John Pearson. Thomas Hodgson.
- 1785. George Ottley. Samuel Holme. Joseph Keene. John Dixon.
- 1787. John Rigge. Robert Knipe. Thomas Braithwaite. John Pearson.
- 1788. John Rigge Skinnerhow (H.) George Walker Yewtree (C). John Hawkrigg (Cl.) Robert Coward Dalepark (S).
- 1789. Gawen Williamson. George Walker. John Hawkrigg. Thomas Bellingham.
- 1790. James Bell. Thomas Robinson. William Fisher. Thomas Bellingham.
- 1791. M^r William Stephenson for William Waterson. M^r William Benson for M^r Laws estate at Brathay. M^r William Fisher. M^r Thos Bellingham.
- 1792. M^r William Stephenson for John Atkinson of Outyeat. M^r John Wilson. M^r William Towers. M^r Tho^s Bellingham.
- 1793. No list.
- 1794. No list.
- 1795. George Borwick. Edward Coward. George Barker. Thomas Bellingham.
- 1796. No list.
- 1797. Edward Backhouse for Edward Parke of Skelwith. George Barker. William Parke. Henry Forest.

OVERSEERS OR SURVEYORS OF THE HIGHWAYS.

There are lists of these from 1716 to 1767. Although probably they were originally elected one for each quarter, they were increased, and the first list, 1716, contains seven, elected respectively for Hawkshead, Coniston, Claife (2), Satterthwaite, Fieldhead, and Holme Ground. From 1717 to 1723 eight were appointed each year, Claife quarter being divided into High end of Claife and Sawrey, and Skelwith and Graythwaite having their surveyors. In 1722 we find, Coniston "George Walker for Penys Estate," which shows that the estates took it in turn to provide a surveyor, and deputies were sometimes accepted. These instances are numerous. In 1726 nine are appointed, one being for Dale Park, and from 1727 to 1740 there were sometimes eight and sometimes nine. After 1741 the number was increased to ten, representing Hawkshead, Fieldhead, Coniston, Skelwith, High Claife, Low Claife, Cunsey, Dale Park,

Satterthwaite, and Grisedale, and this remained so till 1758, when the number appointed was reduced to seven, Cunsey, Dale Park and Grisedale being served by persons deputed by the Satterthwaite surveyor.

There are several instances of the "occupiers" of an estate being appointed, but only one of a woman. This was, 1742, "Widow Park, of Sawrey Ground." She was widow of Edward Park, of Sawrey Ground, and in 1743 married John Swainson of High House.

V.

CHARITIES OF HAWKSHEAD AND COLTON, FOUNDED
PRIOR TO 1800.

The following list is compiled from the following sources:—
(a) Printed Sheet of the Charities; (b) The Charity Commissioners' Report, 1820 (reprinted, Ulverston, 1852); (c) Baines' "Lancashire"; (d) Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis*; (e) "The Rural Deanery of Cartmel," 1892 (Colton:—by the Rev. A. A. Williams and J. Pennington Burns.)

The following Charities are undated, but all are prior to 1717, when they are mentioned in the oldest account book.

Thomas Satterthwaite, of New House, in Hawkshead Field, by will, interest of £5 to poor of Hawkshead Field, and Fieldhead quarters.

Richard Atkinson of Monk Coniston, by will, interest of 50s. to poor of Monk Coniston.

In the printed account we have instead, Richard Rowland Atkinson, £5.

Mrs. Katherine Harrison of Coniston Waterhead, 40s. to poor of (Monk) Coniston.

William Harrison, of Tarnhows, by will, interest of 20s. to poor of Monk Coniston.

John Hunter, executor of the above, a similar bequest.

The following, also undated, are prior to 1730—

George Banks, interest of £10 to minister for preaching on Easter Monday.

(Commissioners' Report says £20, £10 of which was for the poor.)

Edward Fisher, by will, £5 for the poor of the Bailiwick.

William Dennison, of Waterside, interest of £10 for the poor of the Bailiwick.

1625. Henry Banister, bequest by will of £200 for maintenance of a preaching minister at Hawkshead.

1640. Martha Hindley, £200 for the same purpose.

With regard to these two charities, it should be observed that the different accounts vary in detail. The dates given above are those in the old printed account of the charities; but, according to a MS. statement among the church papers, the first should be July 26th, 1628, and the second Nov. 4th, 1646. Bishop Gastrell gives 1625 and 1646. In 1648, with a portion of the money (£140, according to the printed paper, and £360 according to Gastrell), a tenement in Friday Street, called the "Three Blackbirds," was purchased. Feoffees were appointed in the parish of St. John the Evangelist, and in 1669 a case was submitted for counsels' opinion as to whether these duties could be transferred to Hawkshead parishioners. Counsels' opinion was that they could not, unless on the plea that St. John's had been destroyed by the great fire, and was not to be erected as a separate parish church. It therefore appears that the investment was part of the work of Dr. Walker, who, as we have seen, allowed (about 1650) £20 to the then incumbent, and who was then minister of St. John's. The "Three Blackbirds" paid rent until the fire, when the house was burned as well as the church; and after that it was let for 61 years on a building lease. In 1722 Gastrell reported "for which ground-rent is now paid, but it is not known which is ye House and ye Building Lease is now near expiring."

c. 1640. £20 allowed a year to the Minister; and vicarage at Walker Ground and glebe of 12 ac., given to the Minister for ever by Dr. Walker, minister of St. John the Evangelist in London.

1669, 21 June. Daniel Rawlinson, gift of £100, interest of which as follows:—1st year, to buy books for the school and for the writing master; 2nd year, to salary of school-master; 3rd year, to minister's stipend; 4th year, for poor of Grisedale and Satterthwaite in proportion of two-thirds and one-third, and so on consecutively.

The printed statement says the first year to poor scholars, which is incorrect. This charity was lost about 1754 by lending the money to one Turner, who became bankrupt (Charity Commissioners' report, 1820, and oldest Parish Account Book).

- c. 1670. Thomas Sandes, of Kendal, gave the estate of Lawson Park for the benefit of the Minister of Satterthwaite.

This charity is unnoticed in the reprint of the Commissioners' report; but is mentioned by Gastrell and in the printed account. The Editor of Gastrell (Chetham Society, Vol. XXII.) quotes a letter of 1705 from the then curate, stating that the endowment of Satterthwaite was then £7 a year, £5 of which was rent from Lawson Park. The church had been re-built 30 years before, Daniel Rawlinson contributing £5. There are further letters of 1721 from Bordley, minister of Hawkshead, to Bishop Gastrell, stating that the estate barely produced £4 per annum, but might sell for £200. It remained, however, a glebe till 1897, when it was sold.

Thomas Sandes was the founder of the Sandes hospital and school at Kendal in 1670. Machell and Hill record that for using the arms of Sandys of Hawkshead, he was attacked by the Sandys of the period, to whom he replied, "Thou shalt never trouble me nor thyself about such a matter; for as for thy arms I leave thee them to get thy living by; and for thy coat I would not be in it for £100." The same authorities state that he was of mean extraction, that he got his fortune by sequestration, having taken up arms against the king. He had no right to coat armour, but on his monument in Kendal Church and on the hospital, the arms of Sandys of Furness are used. He died 1681, aged 71.

- 1677, 6 April. Daniel Rawlinson, by will £7 per annum, to be settled by his son Sir Thomas, of which £6 per annum for minister for holding Monday services; and £1 for parish clerk for attendance at the same.

Certified 1722, Gastrell.

- 1694, 19 April. James Braithwaite, by will £20, interest for the impotent poor of Claife.

1696, 11th January. Henry Sawrey the elder, of High House, by will, interest of £5 yearly for poor of Coniston and Fieldhead Quarters.

1697, 26th February. Henry Sawrey, younger, of High House, by will, interest of £15 yearly for poor of Bailiwick of Hawkshead.

1706, 25th February. George Rigg, Parish Clerk, by will, £126; the interest of £100 yearly for poor sick people of the Bailiwick; and the interest of £26 to four old persons. There is, among the parish account books, one, bound in calf, giving the distribution of this charity, 1707 to 1761. There is also a loose copy of a portion of the testator's will, with the following endorsement:—

“Copy of that part of the old Clarks will resp^d 100^l the yrly Int whereof to be distributed every 2nd Feb^y among the poor of y^e Bailiwick No 1

‘First I give and demise unto the needfull poor people; Dwelling or that shall hereafter Dwell within the Bayliffwick of Hawkeshead aforesaid who seek Alms, or have a weekly allowance given them, from the Inhabitants thereof; [my charity not hindering the said poor in the Least in any part of their weekly allowance] the sume of One Hundred Pounds; of Lawfull money of England, the whole Stock to remaine forever; and I will that the Interest thereof shall be yearly, and every year for Ever hereafter Dealt and Distributed To, and among the said poor people, and servants Lying sick [if any such be] within the said Bayliffwick, which have nothing to relieve themselves withall; on each second day of February; according to the Christian Discrecon of the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor within the Bayleffwick of Hawkshead aforesaid without any partiality or respect of psons and with the assent and Approbacon of my Trustees herein named; and hereafter to be elected and named for that end and purpose, hoping the Churchwardens and Overseers for the poor, and my Trustees elected and to be elected for that purpose will from time to time rember and consider the severall and respective conditions of the said poor people: That the most needfull poor have the greatest part thereof; And I constitute and appoint Richd Harison of Thirstone Watterhead William

Mackereth of Hawkshead ffields and George Bancks of Munck Conistone all in the said Bayliffwick of Hawkeshead in the said County of Lanc^s. yeo: supravisors in Trust to Lend out the said sume of One Hundred Pounds for the use of the said Poor.”

The title page of the account book has a *resumé* of the will, and the following codicil:—

“Item y^e sume of Twenty six pounds of Interest whereof to be distributed yearly at ye same time to ffour old poor people seeking no alms nor haveing weekly allowance & being past work.

Then follows:—

“But whereas by reason of a law sute betwxt y^e executors of y^e Testator & Rich^d ffleming of Newfield in Seath^t. ye sd Hundred pownds could not be procured till y^e yeare 1716 y^e first whole years Interest arising in y^e year 1717: But for y^e Interest of y^e Twenty six pounds it has been duly paid from ye yeare 1707.”

1713, March 1st. Myles Sawrey, Junior, of Waterhead, by will, £50 to the poor of Monk Coniston and Skelwith, should his daughter die during her minority. This took place, and with the principal and capital a small estate at Oxenfell was purchased.

1715. Leonard Cowperthwaite, Interest of £20 for the poor of Claife and Fieldhead.

1717, 19th August. Reverend Thomas Sandys, Curate of St. Martin's in the Fields, by will and two codicils, £1000 (£800 to trustees of the school and £200 to Queen's College, Oxford), interest of which to be employed for maintenance and residence of poor boys to be educated at the Grammar School, and for providing diet, clothes, and books, and especially for orphans.

In 1730, £135 of this money was expended in the purchase of a house at Gallowbarrow for this purpose. This house had formerly an inscription in the wall which has been given on page 36.

Thomas Sandys also left a collection of books to the school, and left directions for adding to the same.

At the time the Charity Commissioners made their report, negotiations were proceeding for the sale of the Gallowbarrow

property; they were then abandoned. But in this year (1899) further negotiations are in progress which will probably result in the sale.

1731, 10th September. George Satterthwaite, of Green End, by gift, £20 for the further maintenance and education of the charity boys.

1766. William Dennison, of Roger Ground, a gift of £400 to be applied in the same manner.

1766, 18th March. William, son of George Braithwaite, of Sawrey Extra, by indenture, £300, the interest of which to be applied to paying a schoolmaster, and for teaching poor children in Sawrey. Details of this gift are in the Charity Commissioners' report. The printed paper gives the wrong date of 8th April. Mr. A. C. Gibson, mentioning this charity, says that in 1775 (*sic*) William Braithwaite built the school house, and endowed it the following year. He mentions that the first master, one Elleray, was taken from the plough, but qualified for the priesthood in five or six years, and after ordination lived at Winster, where he farmed on week days, but applied himself on the Sabbath to spiritual duties.

1772. 13 Feb. "The High" purchased by Governors and Trustees of the Grammar School for £130 1 0

1774. 31 Oct. "Alexanders Walker-Ground Field" purchased by the President and scholars of Saint John's Coll., Cambridge, for £210, for use of the minister in lieu of the £6 appointed to be paid him (under will of Daniel Rawlinson. 1677).

1786. James Taylor, a bequest of £30 to poor of Satterthwaite. Stated in the reprint of the Charity Commissioners' report to be mentioned in 1786 returns to Parliament. It is supposed to have been lost by the failure of one Townson, to whom it appears to have been lent.

1795. 8 May. Thomas Braithwaite by will, £40 to be applied for benefit of Sawrey School, and interest of £25 for the purchase of books. At the time of the Commissioners' report the Master was Philip Braithwaite, of whom Mr. Gibson tells us that although born in London of poor parents, he

was taken charge of at the death of his parents, by his uncle, a Sawrey blacksmith. He was master for over 30 years, and much improved the school: and by his will bequeathed £200 for the benefit of the master.

1798. 4 May. John Jackson by indenture, interest of £50 invested in consols for benefit of poor widows within division of Hawkshead.

Mackereth: a rent charge of £1 on an estate at Clappersgate for the poor, said to have been left by one Mackereth. It appears that a moiety was paid in Brathay, and a moiety in Westmorland. The date appears quite unknown.

COLTON.

1640. Feb. 4th. William Penny, bequest of £20 to be disposed for the good of the minister, and poor of Colton and Egton. This seems to be lost.

1662. 17 May. Adam Sandys of Bouth or Old Hall in Colton, left an estate at Cowridding for the benefit of a preaching schoolmaster who is to officiate in the chapel.

The peculiar form of this bequest gave rise to many disputes after 1810 between the minister and parishioners.

1677. William Penny of Penny Bridge by will £20 to be applied in same manner as that of his uncle William Penny.

1703. Bartholomew Pennington of Bouth left £50 the interest of which was to be applied to benefit of the Colton schoolmaster, *if not a minister*. But if the school is taught by the minister the interest to be paid to his three sisters, their heirs and assigns.

1707. John Herdson of Oxenpark £70 by will, interest for benefit of poor.

The above date is Mr. Burns'. The Charity Commissioners give 1722. The money is supposed to be lost.

1720. Christopher Chamney of Nibthwaite left £5 for the Church and £5 for the poor. The latter a rent-charge on a farm called Arkliid.

The last seems to have been neglected and not received.

1727. Thomas Strickland of Bouth by will, £60 for the benefit of the poor of Colton.

FINSTHWAITE.

St. Peter's parochial chapel was built at the charge of the inhabitants in 1724 and consecrated by Bishop Gastrell. The land was given by "Henry Taylor of Lendin in Finsthwaite gent." The schoolroom was built at the same time. In 1724 and 1730, £400 in two sums were raised by the inhabitants, and being augmented by equivalent amounts by the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, the total amounts were invested in land for endowment.

1729. 16 March. James Dixon bequeathed a cottage garden, and turbary, should his son die without issue, for the use of the master of Finsthwaite Grammar School. The son died and the property accordingly came to the trustees.

RUSLAND.

The Chapel of Ease was built 1745, at the cost of the inhabitants, £200 being contributed by the inhabitants for endowment, and met by a like sum from the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty. In 1756 £200 were given by other benefactors, and augmented in the same way.

VI.

SCHEDULE OF TITLE DEEDS BELONGING TO THE
GRAMMAR SCHOOL, 1589, FROM AN OLD LIST.

"A trewe Note of all suche Evidences and wrytings as be conteyned within this box.

A ppetuitie for a freschole at Haukshead in the Com of Lanc.

A Recou'ie of Ctaine lands in Kendall in the Com of Westm'land
between Ro: Briggs and Eliz: his wyf deforciants And Edwyn
Archb. of Yorke demandt

A ffine betweene ffletcher & waite of ctaine landes in Trumfflett
Cumpsall Bramwth & Sandall in the com. of York

A Recou'ie betweene ffletcher & waite of ctaine lands in Trumfflett
Cumpsall Bramwth & Sendall in the com of York

A Bargaine and Sale of ctaine lands in Wakefeilde by Robte Jobson
of Kirkbie Kendall to Edwyn Archb of Yorke

- An Indenture of bargain and Sale of lands in Kendall by Robte Briggs and Eliz : his wyf to Edwyn Archb of Yorke
- An Indenture of bargain & sale between Waite & ffletch^r of ctaine landes in Trumfflett etc in the com of Yo^rke
- An Indenture of bargain & sale betweene Jo : Lewys and Edwyn Archp of Yorke of Ctaine landes in Trumfflett in the pishe of Sandall in the com of Yorke
- An Indenture of bargain & Sale between ffletcher and Lewys of ctaine landes in Trumfflett in the com of Yorke
- A ffeoffemt from ffletcher to Lewys of Ctaine lands in Trumfflett in the pishe of Sendall in the Countye of York :
- John Sawreys deed to W^m Sawrey of a customarie teñte in ffurnesfells in the com of Lanc.
- An Obligacon from Jo : Lewis of 300^{li} to Edwyn Archb of Yorke
- A ffeoffemt from waite to ffletch^r of ctaine lands in Trumfflett
- An obligacon of 300^{li} from waite to ffletch^r for pformance of Couenants
- A Demyse from Edwyn Archb. of Yorke to Jo : Lewys esqr : of ctaine lands in Trumfflett etc
- An Obligacon of 200 marks from W^m Sawrey to Edwyn Archbp : of Yorke
- Ebor. S.S. ? Inter Willm ffletcher gen^oo^s quer et Wayte e ux^r de terris in Trumfflett
- A graunt from M^r Xpofer Sands to W^m Sawrey of a teñt in Hawkshead
- An Aquittance from W^m Sawrey of c2^{li}? viij^s iiij^d to Edwyn Archb. of York
- A saile of a tent lying on the southe side of Hawkshead church wth the conveyance & bonds touching the same
- A ffyne betweene the Archbushope of Yorke & John thwayt? and his wif of the land w^{thin} the Countye of Yorke
- Ite dely^d wth thes wrytings aboue a seale of sylver for the use of the scole
- M^d that all thes wrytings aboue specyfyed the xxvjth day of July the xxxjth yere of the reign of Quene Elizabeth were dely^d by Myles Doddinge of london gent to the hands of Peter Megson Rowland Nycolson & Thomas Dowlynson to the use of the scole of hawkeside afforesaid. In wytnes whrof all wee the

said Myles Doddinge as the said peter megson and the rest
gure^s? sett theyre hands the daye and yere abouesaid

By me My: Doddyng

Peter Magson

Ro: Nychollson

Thomas Rawlinson

Memorandn that we (Adam Sandys) Willm Sawrey Barnard
Benson & James Tailio^r have receyved of the reste of the
governors afforenamed, all such evidences & writings as ys
in this writinge declared the xxiith day of October A^o Regni
Elizabeth xxxith

Adam Sandys

Barnard Benson

Jaymes Telior

One deed Indented tripartite from M^r Samuell Sandys to
M^r Edwyne & Myles Sandys

One deed from M^r Edwyne Sandys and M^r Myles Sandys to y^e
Governors of Hauxhead Schole

An other deed betwixt the governors & ye said Samuell Edwyne &
Myles

One Poole deed frome ye said Samuell Sandys to the Governors
for ye tenemente at the church stile

One fyne frome M^r Samuell Sandys & his wife for the lands in York-
shire

One other fyne frome y^e said M^r Samuell & his wif for ye lands in
Kendall

One booke of orders sett doune by Edwyne late Archbishophe of
Yorke

receyued all these the xxijth of October

Adam Sandys

barnard benson

Thomas Rawlynson

James tilyor

Ro Nychollson.

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